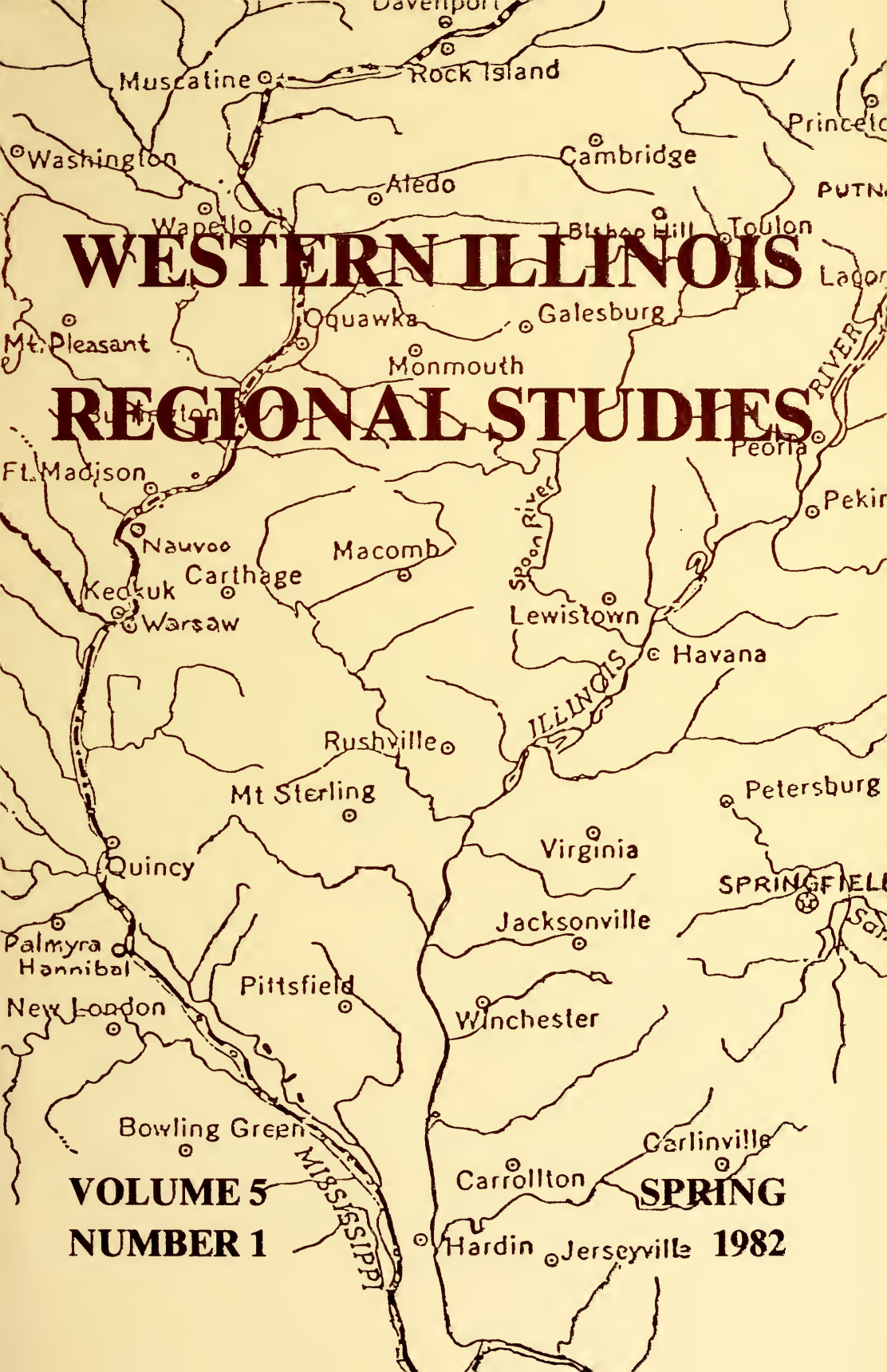

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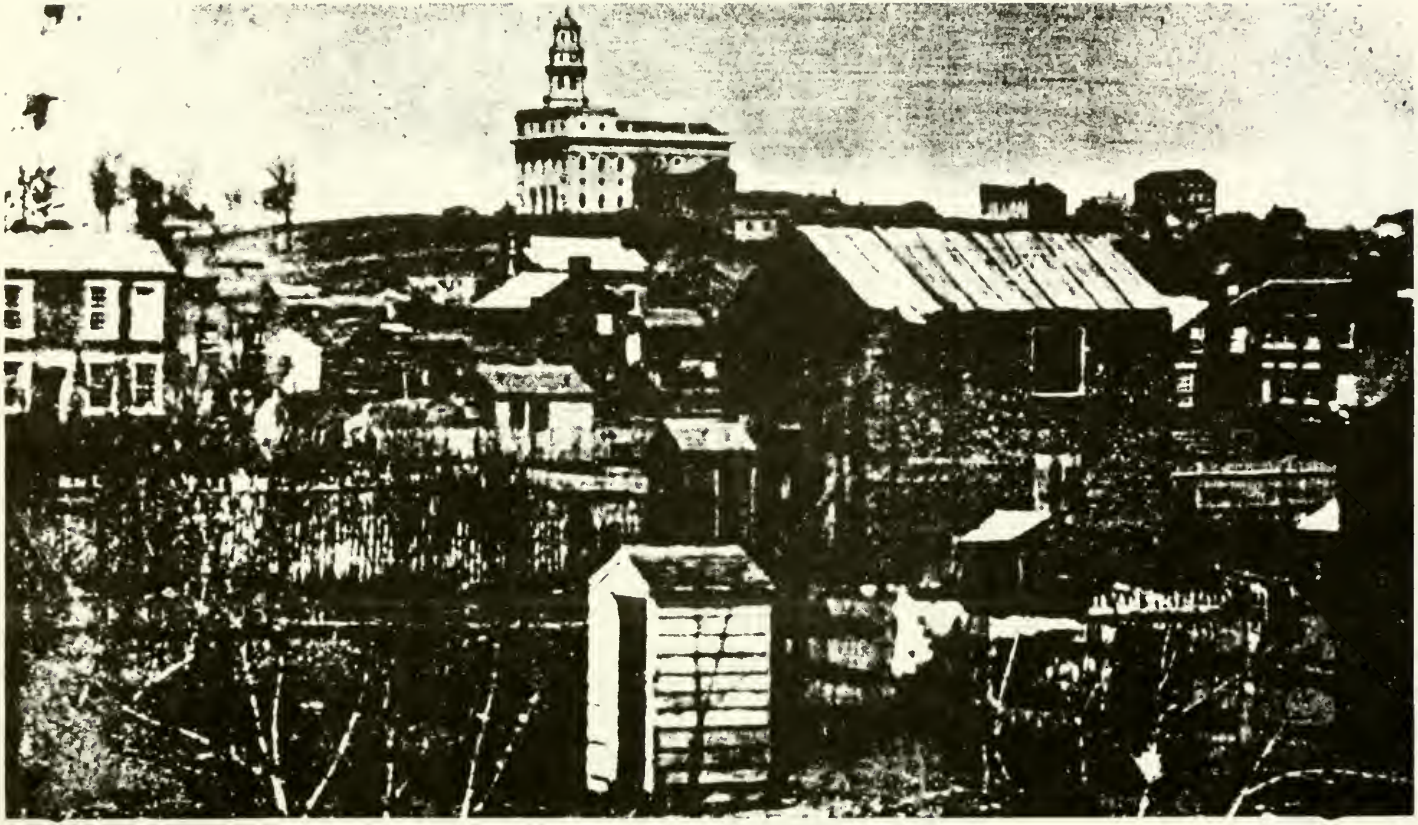
REVEREND GEORGE MOORE COMMENTS ON NAUVOO, THE MORMONS, AND JOSEPH SMITH

Donald Q. Cannon

During the years 1841 to 1845 the Reverend George Moore had extensive contact with Nauvoo, the Mormons, and Joseph Smith. Studying his detailed and perceptive diary, one can gain meaningful insight into the history of the Mormons during their residence at Nauvoo.

George Moore (1811-1847), was born May 4, 1811 in Sudbury, Massachusetts, and completed his public education in the schools of Concord. Through his Concord boyhood and Harvard education he established a close relationship with Emerson and Thoreau. In subsequent years these men corresponded and exchanged ideas on transcendentalism and other subjects. Following graduation from Harvard Divinity School, Moore preached in Templeton, Northhampton, and other Massachusetts towns. Having been ordained as a Unitarian Minister he made a decision to move to Quincy, Illinois as a missionary for the S.P.G. (Society for Propagating the Gospel among Indians and others in North America). At that time, Quincy was a small, beautifully-situated Mississippi River town composed primarily of settlers from New England. In that hospitable setting Reverend Moore became a successful missionary as well as the pastor of the Unitarian Church. He was an eloquent speaker, he wrote with a magnificent hand, and he was recognized with Emerson, Alcott and Thoreau as a brilliant transcendental thinker. Tragically, his career was cut short when he died of tuberculosis on March 11, 1847.[1]

As the foregoing biographical profile indicates, George Moore was an unusually gifted individual. In consequence of his talents, and by virtue of his location, Reverend Moore was in an ideal position to observe and comment on Mormon Nauvoo. Indeed, it is likely that Moore was one of the most perceptive observers of Later-day Saints in the nineteenth century. His diary accounts contain information which is of crucial importance to those who would truly understand the Nauvoo era of Mormon History.



Photograph of Nauvoo buildings taken in 1845 or 1846. Courtesy of Illinois State Historical Library.

During the years 1840-1845, George Moore made several visits to Nauvoo, Illinois, faithfully recording in his diary the things he observed. Following a visit to the city on Friday, June 3, 1842, he wrote:

> Visited the Mormon Temple. The situation is beautiful, commanding an extensive view—about a half mile back from the river, on the bluff—overlooking a large bend of the river—the city of Nauvoo—and a fine prairie on the other side of the river. Dimensions, about 100 feet by 70. The basement of this temple is laid—and in the basement is the baptismal font, supported by 12 oxen. In this I learned that persons are baptized for the dead, and for restoration to health.
>
> Saw the basement of the "Nauvoo House", on the river bank, near Jo Smith's house. Dimensions 120 feet by 100, or thereabouts. This is to be 4 stories high—and of stone.[2]

He was fascinated by the Mormon people and their customs. Concerning a Mormon meeting and those in attendance he wrote: "I don't know that I ever before saw such a congregation of stolid faces."[3] Moore then went on to say that most of the Mormons were poor and many suffered for lack of the necessities of life.[4] The Minister from Quincy found the Mormon sermons boring, but apparently never tired of writing about them. Concerning the sermons during one meeting he wrote:

> When I entered, one of their number was speaking about the Elder and younger Son in the parable of the Prodigal Son. He made wretched work as a Speaker—he hesitated—and what he said amounted to nothing at all—he did not seem to know himself what he was talking about. But he soon gave way to another—a man of about 50 years of age—who spoke for nearly an hour at the top of his voice. There was but little connexion in what he said. He would run from one subject to another—just as an old Sailor will tell a long yarn, in which the great essential is to keep talking.[5]

George Moore had heard that the Mormons spoke in tongues and he was most anxious to hear them practice this ancient custom. In this desire, however, he was disappointed and had to rely on accounts given by others.[6] If he was disappointed in this interest, however, he compensated for it by observing other gifts of the spirit such as the gift of healing. Discussing the conversion of one of his parishioners, Mr. Heywood, Reverend Moore reported on his miraculous healing: "He then told me he had received that which was satisfactory to himself—that Elder Hyde[7] laid hands upon him,'and prayed over him, while he was suffering from a severe nervous head-ahce, and the head-ache departed—and that he believed this was a miracle wrought upon himself."[8] Another Mormon told George Moore how his withered leg was healed, and went on to describe how his wife's crooked arm had been straightened.[9] Clearly, in the mind of Dr. Moore, the Latter-day Saints believed in and practiced faith healing.

Concerning the so-called Mormon peep stone, Reverend Moore had this to say: "At Nauvoo, they have what is called a 'peep stone,' and two boys, who are believed to have the power of looking into this stone, and seeing what people are doing at a distance, and of discovering stolen and lost property. Many people in Nauvoo have such implicit faith in this, that they go to see the peep-stone boys as soon as they lose any thing. But I hear that Joe Smith gives no countenance to this superstition."[10]

Like other nineteenth-century observers of the Latter-day Saints, Moore saw parallels between Mormonism and Mohammedanism. For example, he wrote that the Mormons believed in the idea of an earthly paradise, which was one of Mohammed's great ideas.[11] Rev. Moore also believed the Mormons sought an outward, tangible evidence of their beliefs, not just an inward spiritual manifestation. This desire for outward show he observed in the Mormon propensity for military parades and maneuvers—that is, the war games and reviews of the Nauvoo Legion.[12]

As George Moore visited Nauvoo and shared the association of Mormons, he also noted a pragmatic tendency. Because of their financial difficulty they constantly looked for ways to save money. Hence, the "strange" practice of performing marriages on the ice-covered Mississippi. A Mormon Elder would accompany the bride and groom to a point more than halfway across the river, and there on the snow-covered ice, unite them in matrimony, thus avoiding payment for a certificate in the Hancock County Court.[13]

While George Moore's comments on Mormon beliefs and customs are of interest, his most meaningful comments concern the conversion of some of his parishioners to the Mormon faith. A careful examination of Moore's observations indicates that he thought highly of the people involved, but could not understand how they could become Mormons. His comments about Mrs. Case[14] are a good example of his high regard for her, but also show his disapproval of her decision to unite with the Mormons:

Tuesday Evening, Sept. 13th (1842)

> An event took place, this morning, which has occupied my mind through the day. *Mrs. Case,* who is a member of the Episcopal Church, but who has usually attended my church, was this morning *baptized into the Mormon faith.* When I first heard of it, I was very much surprized. And I determined to go at once and see her. I found her at home—*just returned from* the river where she had been immersed by a Mormon Elder. I conversed with her about the step which she had taken—told her I thought she would see cause to regret it hereafter—asked her if she knew anything of the recent disclosures of the corruptions in the Mormon Church. But I found her full in the faith that the Mormon Church is the true church. Mrs. Case is an excellent woman, with a heart glowing with charity for all—She has read a good deal, and is thoughtful and pious. But withal she has a mind easily biased—

much taken with novelties—and in her universal charity is apt to excuse sin, or rather the sinner. She has for some time been reading the book of Mormon and several of the Mormon publications, and has had a Mormon woman living with her, or visiting her home. But she has not intimated to any of her friends, so far as I can learn, *that she was impressed with the truth of the Mormon faith,* until last evening, when she sent word to her sister that she intended to be baptized this morning and that if she wished to witness the performance of the rite, she could. Her sister was taken by surprize—was troubled—called to see her—and tried to dissuade her from her purpose for the present. But no—she could not wait. It seems as though she must have some distrust of her own convictions, for she has not consulted with any of her long-tried friends. When I talked with her about this, she returned the reply of fanaticism, "I take no counsel of flesh and blood, but of my Father in heaven." Well, she has taken the step—a very rash one, as I believe—she has the very best intentions in it, I doubt not—and I look upon her as still as good as ever. I cannot but look upon her as very credulous—and as having less judgment, nay less intelligence than I supposed. But yet I would not say, she is wrong. What she regards in the Mormon faith as good and pure I have no doubt is so—and placing her own interpretations upon their views, I suppose she thinks she has received new light. But she is a good and true woman—and I hope will yet be guided into the truth, whether she finds it in the Mormon church, or any other.[15]

When one of his deacons joined The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Moore expressed similar concerns. That the course of events troubled him is seen by the fact that his journal entries for three consecutive days concern this matter. The relevant portions of those entries follow:

Monday Evening, Dec. 19 (1842)

I little thought, when I was recording some causes of discouragement, last evening, that I should be called upon, today, to record the apostasy of *one of the Deacons of my church.* But so it is, as I am told. He *returned, today, from Nauvoo, where he was baptized into the Mormon faith.* This is a most strange delusion. And this step has been taken by Mr. Heywood in a singular manner. He has surprised all his friends by it. He has not intimated to any one that he was going to change his faith. He has not conversed with any, so far as I know, in whom he has been accustomed heretofore to place confidence. But, all at once, by a *visit to the Mormon City, has been suddenly converted.* I trust that he is sincere in this course, and that his sincerity will erelong, bring him back from his error, his delusion.

Tuesday, Dec. 20 (1842)

Called on *Mr. Heywood.* He *told me that he had been baptized into the Mormon faith.* In the course of conversation, he *professed to believe that Joseph Smith is the best and purest being on earth, a perfect human being, the prophet of the Almighty.* I asked him what evidence he had of this. He said he had seen and conversed with Mr. Smith, and had heard the testimony of his friends and family who ought to know him best. I asked for some stronger evidence. He then told me he had received that which was satisfactory to himself—that Elder Hyde laid hands upon him, and prayed over him, while he was suffering from a severe nervous head-ache, and the head-ache departed, —and that he believed this was a miracle wrought upon himself. I asked for stronger evidence still. He then told me a story which Elder Hyde

had related to him. Elder Hyde was in England, was called in to lay hands upon, and pray over, a blind boy—he saw no effects from his prayer—immediately left the house—on his arrival in the country, at St. Louis, he met some individuals who told him the child had been healed. Elder Hyde says that letters may be procured from England certifying to this fact. This was the strongest evidence that Mr. Heywood could offer for believing that Joseph Smith is the prophet of God. I told him I regarded him as perfectly deluded, and that I believed he would see cause to regret the step he had taken.

Thursday, Dec. 22 (1842)

Called upon *Mrs. Heywood.* Found her very unhappy in regard to her husband's course. *She said that he never intimated to her that he had any intention of joining the Mormons.* She regards him as a complete dupe of Jo Smith.*16*

Reverend Moore's failure or even inability to understand why his members embraced the Mormon Church is shown in his comments about the death of Mrs. Case.

Sunday, Dec. 17th (1843)

Mrs. Hanah L. Case died today—a most excellent Christian. She formally worshipped with my Congregation, but more than a year since united herself with the Mormons, and *has remained firm in the faith of Mormonism ever since.* But the name by which she was called mattered but little; she was a truly Christian woman, and has done much in this place for the cause of our holy Religion. She was eminent for her Charity, and her humility, and her deep and fervent piety. She died of a lingering consumption, fully resigned to her heavenly Father's will. May he who is the Father of the orphans guide and bless the three sons who survive.

Tuesday Evening, Dec. 19th (1843)

Was called upon, this afternoon to take part in the Services at the funeral of Mrs. Case. I made the prayer, and read a hymn, and *Elder Hyde of the Mormon faith made a very long address about* the resurrection of the body. This address seemed to me a tissue of errors and absurdities from beginning to end. It was boisterous talk, and had nothing in it that I could perceive calculated to give comfort to those that morn. The gentle spirit of Mrs. Case must have been grieved if she knew aught that was going on.[17]

While he thought Mrs. Case was a good Christian, he clearly believed she had been deluded by the Mormons. George Moore hoped his former member found eternal happiness, but he was certainly very skeptical about her future state.

During his visits to Nauvoo the Unitarian minister had an opportunity to visit with the prophet Joseph Smith. In his diary, he recorded their conversations as well as some character sketches and physical descriptions of the Mormon Prophet. Moore's first meeting with Joseph Smith occurred on Friday, June 3, 1842. He recorded his visit with the Prophet in this manner:

Called on the "Prophet Jo Smith." His carriage was at the door, and he was about going away, but he received me very kindly, and asked me into his house. I remained about 10 minutes. He was very

> communicative. We conversed about the golden plates, which he professes to have dug up and translated into the Book of Mormon. "Those plates are not now in this country," he said—"they were exhibited to a few at first for the sake of obtaining their testimony—no others have ever seen them—and they will never again be exhibited." He showed me some specimens of the heiroglyphics, such as, he says, were on the gold plates. He asked me if I was a Clergyman—and of what denomination—and what were the fundamental doctrines of our faith—on my telling him that we believed in divine Unity—in one God in one person—he said, we don't agree with you there. We believe in three Gods, equal in power and glory. There are three personages in heaven, but those three are not one. I suppose, from what I hear, that Smith makes it a point not to agree with any one in regard to his religious opinions, and adapts himself to the person with whom he talks for the time being . . . He expressed a desire to have a long conversation with me, but he had an engagement, and I was soon going away, so that we could not have much conversation. Our interview was short, but pleasant.[18]

Besides commenting on the circumstances surrounding this conversation and Mormon doctrine, the Quincy minister penned a physical description of the Mormon Prophet. "This 'prophet' is a man of large frame—tending to corpulency—has blue eyes, light complexion, one or two of his front teeth gone—he has a rather benevolent expression of countenance."[19] As he left Joseph Smith's home he noted the following:

> As I came out, I found two large cannon, mounted in his yard. Can this be a prophet of God, thought I, who must have cannon for a guard, and must convert all his followers into soldiers—into a "Nauvoo Legion"—and excite in them a warlike spirit? What a return is this to Judaism, nay to Judaism, but to barbarism? And yet this imposter (for I cannot call him any thing else) has his thousands of followers. Nauvoo contains a population of from 5 to 10,000—being variously estimated—and the converts to this system, if system it may be called, are coming in by hundreds. How happens it that an ordinary man by such ordinary means can exert such an influence and sustain himself? It is strange, it is passing strange—it is wonderful—and yet so it is. It shows this most certainly, that there is a great deal of credulity in man.[20]

During another visit to Nauvoo, Moore heard the Mormon Prophet preach. He noted that Joseph Smith made a report to his followers concerning a trip he had made to Springfield. In the course of his remarks the Prophet also counseled the Saints to "understand the words of Scripture just as they read."[21]

From the foregoing quotations, it is obvious that Reverend Moore was impressed by the Prophet, found him to be a likeable, sociable person, and certainly recognized his influence and leadership ability. Moore was, however, not converted to Joseph Smith's claims to divine authority. Furthermore, he had serious reservations concerning the Nauvoo Legion and the military activities of the Mormon Prophet.

Being personally acquainted with Joseph Smith and living just a few miles down the Mississippi from Nauvoo, the Unitarian minister

was both an interested and timely observer of the events leading up to the death of the Prophet. Consequently, on Sunday, June 23, 1844, he made the following entry in his diary:

> At the present our whole community is excited in regard to the Mormons. They have demolished a printing-press in Nauvoo, in violation of the laws of the States. Joe Smith, the Prophet, was arrested for his act on a legal process, and was rescued by a writ of habeas corpus issued by his own municipal Court. The whole community became excited, armed themselves to support the civil officer in his duty, sent for the Governor; and now seem determined to carry out the law. Meantime, Nauvoo has been declared under martial law. The Governor has arrived—ordered out several regiments of Militia—sent off for arms—called upon the Mormons to send a Committee, unarmed, to Carthage, there to be examined by him—the Committee appeared, and the investigation was not satisfactory. Now, I am told, the Governor has sent 12 men to Nauvoo to arrest Joe Smith—and that the Mormons have laid down their arms. Such are some of the rumors afloat here. Nothing is talked of but the Nauvoo news. The Military Companies, instead of attending Church this evening, have had meetings at their armories, and are expecting to be called out in the morning to march to the seat of war. I know not what will be the result of this excitement. May God in his infinite wisdom so rule in the hearts of men as to subdue their evil and revengeful passions, and to prevent any bloodshed![22]

A few days later he wrote this about the death of Joseph Smith and his brother:

> Quincy, Friday Evening, June 28th
>
> The war alarm has sounded through our city. At day-break, on this morning, the bells were rung and the citizens called out to attend a meeting at the Court house. The news had come down in the Boat that Joe Smith and his brother Hyrum had been killed in the prison at Carthage. Threats had been made by many of the Mormons to destroy the towns of Carthage and Warsaw, and it was supposed that their whole body might be infuriated so as to be ready to do anything. This was stated at the meeting in the Court house. Also, that the Governor went yesterday to Nauvoo with 60 men to see the Mormons and quiet them, and to receive the arms of the State in their possession. Fears were entertained for the safety of the Governor and his guard. It was immediately determined that a force should be raised to go to the protection of Warsaw. And at 9 o'clock about 300 troups left on the Boreas for Warsaw. The Quincy Rifle Company—Quincy Guards (German Company)—Irish Volunteers—and a Volunteer Company under Command of Captain Johnson—all went off amidst much cheering for "the Constitution and the Laws."
>
> I never before witnessed so much excitement. And I have been unable to keep quiet in the midst of it. Every thing in the morning wore a warlike aspect. Even some apprehensions were expressed in regard to the safety of Quincy. But news has come by boat, this Evening, that all was quiet at Nauvoo, that they had received the bodies of the Smiths to bury them, that some of their leaders had advised them in public speeches to keep quiet, and to make no attack upon the property or lives of others. They will probably remain at Nauvoo, and act on the defensive, if attacked.
>
> The attack on Smith was first made, according to the report which we have received, by Higbee, a seceding Mormon—the guard of the prison resisted attack, but the mob forced their way into the prison—and there killed Joe and Hyrum. The prophet fought to the last

> with pistols—rushed to a window in order to jump out—and fell head long having received a shot in his head. It seems not to have been a cold-blooded murder on the part of the people of Carthage. I know not what to think of the matter. It was perfectly astounding when I first heard of it. I sincerely trust that peace will now be restored.[23]

Several things are of interest here. Obviously, Moore and other non-Mormons were afraid of an attack by the Mormons. He also called attention to the mobilization of troops to defend the communities and keep the peace. Moore's description of the assault on Carthage Jail is similar to the most common accounts. It is interesting, however, to note that he did not blame the people of Carthage for the murder.

Commenting further on the reasons for the martyrdom, Reverend Moore wrote the following:

> How truly did Jesus say, "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword!" Smith has taken up the sword to defend himself—has ever inculcated the war spirit among his followers—and now behold the result! A dreadful and appalling result, but still the direct consequence of his military system. If they (the Mormons) had been a peaceful sect, and had never used arms as a religious body, they would have received ample protection in their religion. But how could this be expected from an Imposter?[24]

Here, Moore blames the death of Joseph Smith on the Prophet's military activities. In a sense, the Unitarian minister is suggesting that the existence of the Nauvoo Legion may have caused the murder of the Mormon Prophet.

Still interested in the Mormons, Moore continued to observe them and to record his thoughts in his journal. Three months after the Prophet's death, he wrote:

> A glorious Autumn day. Would that I could say it has been a glorious day at Church! But, instead of that, the peace of the Sabbath has been broken by martial music. Soldiers paraded our streets at noon. Our two independent Companies have again marched to Nauvoo. They were ordered out by the Governor, and commanded to report themselves at Nauvoo on Wednesday next. I know not what to make of this new move. It is conjectured by some that it is a political movement on the part of the Governor. The pretence for ordering out the troops is that the people of Warsaw have invited the people from the neighboring Counties and from Iowa and Missouri to attend a grand *Wolf hunt* there on Friday next, and have also *notified the Mormons that they must leave before that time,*—and that this Wolf hunt is a concealed movement by which they intend to drive the Mormons out of the State. Under this pretence the Governor has called out the troops from several Counties, and they are now marching towards Nauvoo. What will be the result of this movement time must determine. I fear that the very attempt to obviate the difficulty, may bring on some collision.[25]

In this entry the Unitarian minister reveals his knowledge of the so-called "wolf hunts," which were really faintly disguised acts of violence designed to harass the Mormons and eventually drive them from the state of Illinois. From his comments it seems apparent that

Moore recognized the true nature of the activities directed against the Latter-day Saints.

During a visit to the state capitol in Springfield, Reverend Moore attended a debate over the proposed repeal of the Nauvoo charter. In his entry for January 11, 1845, Moore wrote that he "heard some sharp shooting in the House upon the Mormon question."[26] A few days later, while still in Springfield, he noted: "Heard discussion of the questions whether the Nauvoo charter ought to be repealed, in the House of Representatives. Mr. Babbitt,[27] a Mormon Representative, made a most famous speech, containing withal some passages of considerable power."[28] The debate over the repeal of the Nauvoo Charter, which Moore described, had been going on for some time. Opponents of the Mormons had tried to repeal the Nauvoo City Charter even before the death of Joseph Smith, and finally succeeded in repealing the charter in January, 1845.[29]

For a five-year period the Quincy minister kept a faithful record of his encounters with and observations of the Mormons at Nauvoo. His diary tells us much of the significance concerning those people, their founder, and the city they built. It is to be regretted that his life was cut short in 1847. If he had not died then, perhaps George Moore might have gone on to tell the story of the Latter-day Saints and Brigham Young. As it is, we are indebted to Reverend Moore for his comments on Nauvoo, the Mormons, and Joseph Smith.

NOTES

[1]*Memoirs of Members of the Social Circle in Concord,* Second Series, (Cambridge: Riverside Press. 1888), pp. 286-94; Kenneth Walter Cameron, *The Transcendentalists and Minerva* (Hartford: Transcendental Books, 1958), II, 457-59; David F. Wilcox, *Quincy and Adams County* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing, 1919), p. 551.

[2]George Moore Diary, p. 105, George Moore's diary consists of six volumes, covering the period 1828-1845. They are located at Harvard University Archives and the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. Parts of the diaries have been published by Kenneth W. Cameron in *Transcendental Epilogue* (Hartford, Conn.: Transcendental Books, 1965), Volume I. The diary volume covering the period Dec. 27, 1840-May 12, 1845 is the only volume referred to in this study. The original is in the American Antiquarian Society. The author owns a microfilm copy. Hereafter it will be referred to as Moore Diary.

[3]Moore Diary, p 8

[4]Moore Diary, p. 9. See James B. Allen and Malcom Thorpe, "The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840-1841: Mormon Apostles and the Working Classes," BYU Studies, 15 (1975), 499-526.

[5]Ibid, pp. 8-9.

[6]Ibid. See Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* ed. B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1966), VII, 557. Hereafter referred to as HC.

[7]Orson Hyde.

[8]Moore Diary, pp. 157-58. Heywood also told Reverend Moore that he had heard Elder Hyde tell about how he had healed a blind boy in England. This is Joseph L. Heywood. See note 16.

[9]Moore Diary, p. 179.

[10]Ibid. p. 179. Many nineteenth-century Americans believed in super-natural qualities associated with so-called peepstones, which were stones used in much the same fashion as a fortune teller's crystal. Joseph Smith apparently used such a stone when he was employed by Joseph Stowell, who had hoped to find buried treasures. Some observers have also associated peepstones with the translation of the Book of Mormon. For further discussion of peepstones, see Donna Hill, *Joesph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), pp. 65-67, 73-74.

[11]Ibid, p. 64.

[12]Ibid. p. 105-06. For more information on the Nauvoo Legion, see Hamilton Gardner, "The Nauvoo Legion, 1840-1845: A Unique Military Organization," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* 54 (1951), 181-97.

[13]Moore Diary, p. 175. According to James L. Kimball, Jr., the Mormons did not like to pay the fee to Hancock County and consequently arranged, eventually, to issue marriage certificates in Nauvoo. Therefore, any marriages on the ice would have been in the early period and were also an exception to the rule. Interview with James L. Kimball, Jr., July 17, 1979.

[14]Hannah L. Case, born June, 1796 in Connecticut. Member of Quincy Branch. Went to Utah in 1847.

[15]Moore Diary, pp. 132-33. It should be noted that most of the Mormons who fled from Missouri came to Quincy. Although Nauvoo became the center of the Church, Quincy was also a major Mormon settlement in Illinois.

[16]Moore Diary, pp. 157-58. Mr. Heywood is Joseph L. Heywood. He was born in Grafton, Worcester County, Massachusetts, August 1, 1815. Heywood moved to Illinois in 1858, eventually locating in Quincy. He joined the Mormon Church in December, 1842. He served as a trustee of the Church in disposing of Mormon property in Nauvoo, remaining there until 1844. He moved to Salt Lake City in 1848. Heywood served as bishop and as a missionary in the LDS Church. He was a U.S. Marshall, and he died in 1910. Apparently his wife changed her mind and was also converted to Mormonism.

[17]Moore Diary, pp. 241-42

[18]Moore Diary, pp. 105-06. For more information on doctrinal development of such matters as the Godhead, see: T. Edgar Lyon, "Doctrinal Development of the Church During the Nauvoo Sojourn, 1839-1846," *BYU Studies,* 15 (1975); and Van Hale, "The Doctrinal Impact of the King Follet Discourse;" *BYU Studies,* 18 (1978), 209-25.

[19]Ibid., p. 106. On the night of March 24, 1832, Smith was dragged from his residence in Hiram, Ohio, by a mob. When the mob tried to force him to take what he believed to be poison, he broke the vial in his teeth but broke a tooth in the process. Thus, the reference to a missing tooth. Joseph later had it repaired at the suggestion of John C. Bennett by Alexander Neibaur.

[20]Moore Diary, p. 106. In this statement, Reverend Moore reveals his amazement over Joseph Smith, but nevertheless tells of his essential skepticism toward the Mormon leader's claims to divine direction.

[21]Ibid., p. 178. For an additional reference to this same concept, see Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City; Deseret Book, 1974), p. 276.

[22]Moore Diary, pp. 265-66.

[23]Moore Diary, pp. 266-67.

[24]Ibid., pp. 267-68.

[25]Moore Diary, p. 294. For further information on the wolf hunts see HC, VII, 45-47.

[26]Ibid., p. 328.

[27]Almon W. Babbitt, born October, 1813, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, baptized by 1833, served in Zion's Camp. President of Kirtland Stake in 1841. Arrived in Utah 1848. Delegate to Congress in 1849. Killed at Ash Hollow, Nebraska, September 7, 1856.

[28]Moore Diary, pp. 330-31.

[29]David E. Miller and Della S. Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974), p. 186.

THE TRIUMPH OF MOBOCRACY IN HANCOCK COUNTY 1844-1846

Annette P. Hampshire

The story of the Mormon conflict in Illinois has been outlined many times and serves as a classic example of the arousal of public hostility against a separatist religious sect. A close study of the primary sources, particularly the press, enables one to go beyond the outline and beyond a catalogue of complaints against the Mormons and an adjudication of them, to catch a glimpse of the social processes at work in Hancock County, Illinois at that time.[1] Many writers have concentrated their attention on the middle years of the Illinois period, 1842-1844, dealing with the rise of moral and religious objections to Mormonism and the events leading to the killing of the prophet Joseph Smith in Carthage jail.[2] It would be a mistake to leave the analysis of the conflict at 1844 as if the exodus of the Mormons was somehow the inexorable conclusion to the scenario. Important social processes were at work after 1844 and this paper seeks to document one such process, namely the break down of a workable consensus as to the legitimacy of state authority. By state authority I refer to the authority of the governor and other officials duly elected by virtue of the system laid down within the State Constitution.

What is revealed by a return to the texts is that such a decline was not a series of neat steps beginning with a period of respectful obedience and ending with anarchical collective violence. The process was more one of an awkward meandering between the use of legitimate vehicles of social control and use of collective and/or individualistic violence. This meandering or vacillation in the use of legitimate authority occurred in conjunction with a process of erosion of consensus as to what indeed *was* legitimate authority. The vacillation between "legal" and "extra-legal" means of action was itself an attempt to test the boundaries of effective legitimate action in the context of the Mormon question. The growing diversity of interests and tendered solutions made it more difficult to achieve any new consensus as to what was both effective and legitimate authority.

In outlining this process I wish to stress the changing relationship between the agents of social control and the gentile, or non-Mormon, population of Hancock County and its environs, rather than the more often rehearsed relationship between the Mormons and the gentiles, important though this may be.

The questions posed by the later years of the Mormon conflict in Illinois, 1844-1846, therefore, are not fully answered by reference to original causes of the conflict. This is principally because what one is witnessing is not just a straightforward conflict between Mormon and gentile but the response of the agents of control, and the citizens of Hancock County, to a direct challenge to the efficacy of formally constituted authority. The challenge as posed by the anti-Mormons was essentially unstable because it was supportable only by the continued use of intimidating violence. The failure of the state to enforce its version of legitimate authority in the face of this challenge, however, led to the rise and triumph of mobocracy—the temporary supremacy of the mob. It was a mob which sought to be organized and to define for itself a legitimate basis of authority in popular support. The vacillation between legal and extra-legal means of pursuing the conflict may have been necessary to maintain such popular support. The rationale of the anti-Mormons was that they were defending the integrity of their community and its institutions from Mormon dominance. They would, therefore, have to show some respect for the community's legal institutions when it could not clearly be shown that they were under Mormon sway.

There are four themes which run through the events of the period and characterize the trend toward loss of potency of formal authority.[3] First, the authority of the state and its officers was perceived to have lost any credibility as an instrument of impartial justice. The rhetorical accusation levelled against Governor Thomas Ford, that he was pro-Mormon, became a self-fulfilling prophecy as the anti-Mormons stepped up their campaign and Ford intervened to defend the Mormons. Secondly, in attempting to enforce the authority of the state, its agents showed themselves to be ineffective on three fronts. In terms of physical enforcement of state authority, Ford was unable to overawe the "Wolf-Hunters" of late 1844. In judicial terms the state was not able to demonstrate impartial strength in the staging of the trials of the accused assassins of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Similarly, in legislative terms, when offering repeal of the Nauvoo City Charter as a panacea for the conflict, the state could not enforce its decisions within the Mormon community. The third of the four themes is the emergent strength of the anti-Mormons. The anti-Mormons became progressively more effective in the areas of physical enforcement and the use of the judicial process for their own ends. They were able both to organize their

own structures of enforcement independent of those of the state and use state structures to the detriment of the goals of state officers. Fourth, and most crucial, was the growing willingness of the agents of control to accept the anti-Mormon definition of the situation. In so doing state officers acknowledged their own weakness and lack of authority. By allowing the goal of Mormon removal to attain practical expression the agents of control were admitting that they either could not or would not defend the Mormon community as they would other communities within the state. In so doing the agents of control were also recognizing the power of the anti-Mormons and conferring at least *de facto* legitimacy on their organization and its goal.

Following the storming of Carthage jail and the killing of its captives, Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Governor Ford was faced with a dilemma. He had to choose between rigorously seeking out those responsible and thereby risking further unrest, and openly ignoring due process of law by not intervening. It is evident from Ford's apologetic delivered before the State Legislature in December, 1844, that he had little confidence in his ability to proceed decisively. While he wished to indemnify the honour of the state by arresting the murderers, he did not think it necessary to proceed with the full rigor of the law.[4] Ford may, however, have been under some pressure from fellow Democrats to make arrests.[5] Even so, Ford did not act until after the electorate had returned Democratic and/or pro-Mormon candidates to Congress, to the General Assembly and to the local offices of County Commissioner, Coroner, and Sheriff, in the August elections.[6] The latter three officers, especially that of County Commissioner, were vital to the security of those suspected of the killings, as their incumbents would choose the grand and petit jurors at any forthcoming trial. There was only one explicitly anti-Mormon County Commissioner.[7] Ford, a Democrat himself, could now feel confident of some support from local officers in any attempt he should make to arrest and try those believed to have been involved in the killings.

Before Ford could make any decisive move, however, the anti-Mormons, perhaps anticipating that he would shortly attempt to serve writs, called a "Military Wolf Hunt." The leading anti-Mormons invited the militia captains of Hancock County, neighboring counties, and possibly other states, to assemble with their companies directly for the hunt.[8] Ford interpreted the Wolf Hunt as a provocative, and only thinly disguised, ruse to provide an opportunity for anti-Mormons to disturb the public peace, destroy property, and take the lives of citizens, particularly Mormon citizens. He therefore called out the militia on September 18, 1844.

The anti-Mormon press seized the opportunity to ridicule Ford.

Governor Thomas Ford. Courtesy of Illinois State Historical Library.

The initiative was now clearly with them: they could demonstrate Ford's bad judgment in over-reacting to what they could define as a routine social event and thereby cast him in the role of provocateur. The principal anti-Mormon newspaper, the *Warsaw Signal,* denied that any handbill inciting Missourians to take part in an extermination of the Mormons had been circulated[9] and went on to ridicule the Governor for sending two-and-a-half thousand troops to deal with so few "citizens."[10] Others assigned political motives to Ford's actions, interpreting the militia call as yet another unsubtle demonstration of his willingness to protect the Mormons in order to court the Mormon vote.[11] Ford's humiliation was made that much more severe by his inability to muster the complement of militia volunteers he had called for. Although he called for twenty-five hundred, he could only muster four hundred and seventy-five.[12] He was even denied the opportunity to strike a decisive blow against the anti-Mormons. When his troops, under Hardin and Baker, approached the anti-Mormon Wolf Hunters, they dispersed.[13]

Ford marched his troops to Augusta where, according to the *Warsaw Signal,* he would not let them talk to the citizens for fear of their becoming converted by anti-Mormon propaganda. Ford was portrayed in the press as a man of uncertain temper, a man who resorted to the use of spies to gain information about the citizens of Hancock. The *Warsaw Signal* openly admitted its willingness to defy the Governor, maintaining that the citizens had every right to hold an encampment. Ford was so personally unpopular that he was hung in effigy at Lima, in Adams County.[14]

Ford was not perceived to be an effective or objective upholder of justice in the Mormon camp either. The Mormons did not fully share the gentile view that Ford and his officers were their champions. While cooperating with the Governor in some respects, they were apprehensive, sensing his inability to stem the growing tide of anti-Mormonism. The Church was also faced with the leadership crisis created by the death of Joseph Smith and the rivalries between such contenders for the succession as Brigham Young, Sidney Rigdon, and J. J. Strang.

With the dispersal of the would-be Wolf Hunters, Ford was left with no tangible adversaries. He therefore addressed himself to the task of arresting those believed to have been involved in the killing of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.[15] An earlier attempt had been made to arrest Thomas Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal,* but Sharp had refused to go with the arresting officer. Ford's present attempt to arrest the accused served only to demonstrate his lack of command and the bargaining strength of the accused. Ford had intended to cross to Missouri to the anti-Mormon encampment there and make his arrests. One of his officers, Colonel Baker, however, refused to

join this expedition and encouraged others to do the same. Ford did not have absolute authority over his officers, and he was very much aware of this: by virtue of the State Constitution he was unable to dismiss a militia officer.[16] Baker was confident enough in his own authority to himself visit the anti-Mormon camp and arrange terms for the surrender of the accused. While Ford had originally sought to arrest J. H. Jackson, Thomas Sharp and Levi Williams, only the latter two surrendered and then only on the understanding that they would be admitted to bail to await a hearing before the next term of the Circuit Court at Carthage.[17]

The main business to be brought before the October session of the Court was hearing the cases against the *"Expositor* Rioters"[18] and against those accused of killing the Smiths. The members of the Nauvoo City Council who were charged with the destruction of the *Expositor,* their witnesses, and others soon encamped outside Carthage. At the same time, a group of Indians moved into the vicinity. The anti-Mormons immediately accused the Mormons of using the Indians and their own supporters to overawe the court. A public meeting of the citizens of Hancock County was convened to consider what action should be taken. The meeting, which both Thomas Sharp and Levi Williams addressed, resolved to ask Judge Thomas to adjourn the court as soon as it was ascertained that there was an armed body of Indians and Mormons in the area. It offered the explicit challenge to the court that should it fail to adjourn upon receiving such information, the citizens would deem it their duty to collect a force to protect themselves.

Ford, anticipating trouble, had given the Mormon Nauvoo Legion permission to protect the court under the direction of the sheriff. Such a partisan, and therefore volatile, alliance of governor, Legion and sheriff against anti-Mormons was not made operational. It did, however, serve to illustrate Ford's perception of the situation as one in which the anti-Mormons were the aggressors and in which the state should and could ally with the Mormons. Ford's lack of impartiality was made explicit through such actions. Judge Thomas refused to be intimidated by either side and presided over the Grand Jury, which indicted nine of those accused of the murder of Joseph Smith and eleven Mormons accused on the charge of riot arising out of the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor.*[19]

The integrity of state officers and their ability to impartially protect the citizens of the state were further impugned by the revelation of the alleged complicity of state officers in the killing of the Smiths. In late 1844 Senator J. C. Davis was arrested, in Springfield, by Sheriff Deming. A Select Committee of the Senate, however, ordered Deming to release Davis, much to the chagrin of the Mormons who interpreted the act as legislative endorsement of the murder of

their Prophet. The anti-Mormons also expressed their distrust, interpreting the arrest of Davis as an attempt to stifle his activity in the Senate in connection with the repeal of the Nauvoo City Charter. It was also reported that Ford feared Davis would encourage investgation into his part in the events leading to the deaths of the Smiths. There was some controversy in the gentile press over alleged threats by G. T. M. Davis that those accused of killing the Smiths would expose Ford's complicity in the affair if Ford went ahead with the prosecutions.[20]

The Legislature was well aware of the anarchy which was developing in Hancock County and its environs. Repeal of the Nauvoo City Charter, proposed before, now seemed to offer hope of an institutional rather than a violent solution. It was hoped that by depriving the Mormons of their civil and judicial authority, the legitimacy of which had long been contested by anti-Mormons, their alleged abuses of such authority would stop and the anti-Mormons would thereby be appeased. The bill to repeal the charter was introduced into the Senate in December, 1844, was passed by the House in January 1845, and was approved by the Council of Revision in the same month.

The Mormon reaction to repeal left both gentiles and officers of state in little doubt as to the virtual futility of legislative action. The Mormons considered repeal to be unconstitutional—a deprivation of their basic rights. They therefore continued much as before; elections for city officers proceeded as usual. On February 3, for example, all those nominated by the Twelve for municipal office were elected.[22] The Mormons did become more introverted and defensive *vis a vis* the gentile world. This extended to resistance to "gentile law" in the form of "gentile process." In the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of April 23, 1845, John Taylor advised the people of Nauvoo to resist the service of civil process for debt. Law was now becoming a matter of partisan definition: it was either "gentile law" or "Mormon law." Preparations also continued for the physical defence of Nauvoo. Work on the arsenal in Nauvoo continued, and ammunition and artillery were brought into the city.

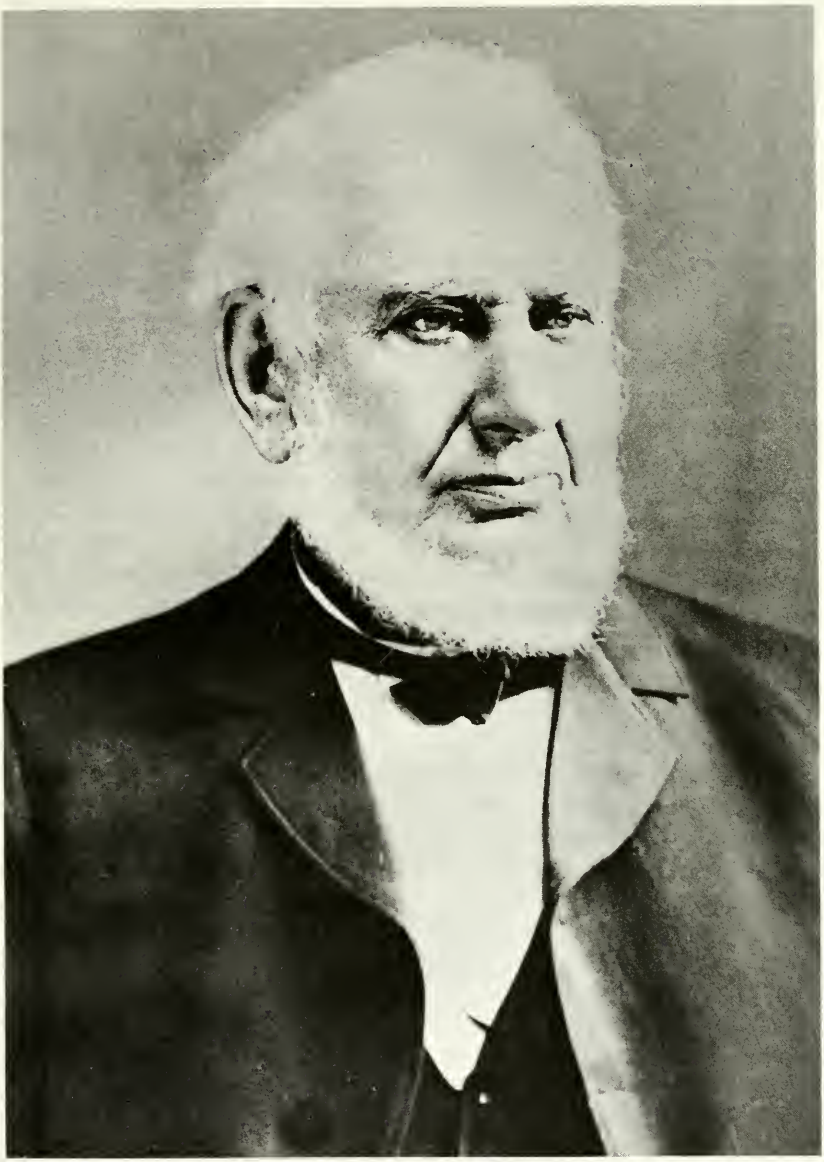
Thus the repeal of the Nauvoo Charter did not inspire any confidence in the effectiveness of the Legislature or its agents. Anti-Mormon invective against the Legislature in particular and politicians in general remained as vituperative as ever. Repeal was in no way seen by the anti-Mormons as a basis for a re-approachment or alliance between formal authority and themselves. Informal gentile networks of enforcement were now emerging in competition with formally constituted authority in the bid to contain Mormon power. The *Warsaw Signal,* ever a center of anti-Mormon agitation, had, in late 1844, opened its columns to those who wished to present their

evidence of instances of Mormon thievery. It provided a nucleus around which anti-Mormons could sustain a network of communication. Meetings were frequently held to take stock of the evidence presented concerning Mormon thievery and to consider strategies to suppress "the depredations of the Saintly Brotherhood of Nauvoo . . . ." The citizens of Hancock and Henderson Counties, for example, met and resolved to form a committee of vigilance to watch the public road for marauders and deemed it correct to discontinue all intercourse with the Mormons as they were considered enemies of the state.[23]

As if to test their strength against the agents of control, the anti-Mormons began a campaign of intimidation against certain individuals. Discrete, covert acts of violence were committed which could not always be substantiated and the perpetrators rarely detected. This, as it was probably hoped, would have the effect of discrediting the agents of control in the eyes of the Mormons and adding weight to the realization that they could not be protected while they remained in Hancock County. In February, for example, the *Warsaw Signal* reported that the "old citizens" of Pontoosuc had driven Mormons from an island upon which they were believed to have stored stolen property.[24] Those non-Mormons who aided the Mormons or their supporters were also subjected to intimidation. An old citizen called Howd swore an affidavit claiming that he was attacked by anti-Mormons after supplying corn to Backenstos.[25] General Deming, at this time Sheriff, noted in his letters of late 1844 and early 1845 that he was subject to the constant threats of the anti-Mormons.[26] The attackers for the most part were successful in preserving their anonymity. How numerous they were is impossible to say. A gentleman signing himself "Fabius" in the *State Register* claimed that the work of intimidation was carried on by a highly organized but numerically small group of fanatics:

> This assassin faction cannot marshall more than 80 men in the county. Yet by an efficient organisation of *lynch committees* in the precincts, secret societies pledged to furnish money and do any act that these lynch officers shall require, by frauds, arson and threatened destruction of property they assume an importance and exercise an influence over many that submit to their arrogance rather than provoke their enmity.[27]

May, 1845 was the date set for the trial of those indicted at the October hearing. Perhaps because of this and the apparent success of their tactics so far, the anti-Mormons, in the form of the Carthage Greys,[28] dared to openly threaten Backenstos, who had sat in the House of Representatives of the State Legislature and had spoken in favor of retention of the Nauvoo Charter, with violence if he did not leave the county by a certain time.[29] Violence and intimidation were also attributed to the Mormons. Tales reached the *Niles Na-*



Anti-Mormon Leader Thomas Sharp.

tional Register that a Mr. Madison had been driven from Nauvoo by ruffians carrying knives.[30]

The anti-Mormons were clearly rejecting those state officials whom they believed had been put in office by Mormon votes. Disrespect and disregard for the powers vested in those offices, formerly expressed in rhetorical form in the press, were voiced openly in a new defiance of officers' powers of arrest. Due process of law was disregarded: arrests were swiftly followed by daring rescues and connived escapes as the protagonists attempted to arrest strategic members of the "enemy" camp. A man called Eaton, for example, heralded by the anti-Mormon press as chief of the bogus (i.e. counterfeiting) factory in Nauvoo, was arrested on a warrant issued by the Governor of Illinois following a requisition by the Governor of New York. He was later rescued by a gang.[31] The Mormons also tried to make arrests, notably that of John Elliott.[32] Elliott, despite the protection of the Mormon William Marks, was arrested on February 11, 1845 on the charge of murdering the Smiths. He was brought before Justices in Nauvoo and committed to Carthage jail to await the next term of the Circuit Court. The *Warsaw Signal* took the opportunity to castigate the proceedings as unjust and pointed out that one of the prominent witnesses brought against Elliott was Brackenbury, whose mother was connected with the Mormons. Brackenbury, who was expected to testify for the prosecution at the forthcoming trial of those indicted for the killing of Joseph Smith, was arrested for perjury in March; the Mormons said that was a ruse to prevent him from giving evidence. With Mormon protection Brackenbury was able to evade injury at the hands of the anti-Mormons. Elliott, for his part, managed to escape for a short while. Walter Bagby, a prominent anti-Mormon, noted in a letter of March 1845 that there was considerable excitement over the whole affair and attempts were then being made to secure Elliott's release on a writ of *habeas corpus.*[33] The air of tension and violence was tightened by the brutal murder of a Mr. Miller and his son-in-law, Henry Liecy, in Iowa, little more than a week before the onset of the trial. The culprits were believed to have been the Hodge (or Hodges) brothers from Nauvoo.[34]

The May court term saw the use by anti-Mormons of both brute intimidation and partial acceptance of the form and procedure of the law. More than half the jurors were Mormons, although few leading Mormons appeared as witnesses.[35] The defendants were able to secure their discharge through two main strategems. First, they overturned the original panel of jurors. The defendants presented two affidavits charging the county commissioners, the sheriff, and his deputies with prejudice, consanguinity, and partiality in their arrangement of the panel of jurors. Judge Young agreed to overturn

the panel and appoint elisors, or substitute selectors, to choose a new jury.[36] New jurors were selected with the courtroom full of armed anti-Mormons, with the inevitable consequence that most of the new jurors selected were anti-Mormon.[37] The second ploy of the defense counsel was to impeach the evidence of the major prosecution witnesses. One such witness, named Daniels, was accused of accepting money from the Mormons to testify against the defendants.[38] The defense was helped considerably by the prosecuting counsel, Josiah Lamborn, who reinforced the view of the defense that the three principal prosecution witnesses, Daniels, Graham, and Brackenbury, were unreliable.[30]

The Mormons were totally disgusted with the verdict of the court, which ordered the acquittal of those accused of the murder of Joseph Smith, and indeed, they had taken little note of the trial after the original array of jurors had been quashed.[40] They were now convinced that the law was no longer an instrument of impartial justice. For them it was little more than the tool of the anti-Mormons.

A further blow to the stability of formally constituted authority was the loss of Deming as Sheriff. Deming became involved in an argument with Dr. Marshal of Warsaw, the County Clerk, over the entry of a piece of land following a tax sale. The argument became violent and Deming shot Marshal, killing him. Deming believed that the incident had been staged by anti-Mormons. The citizens of Hancock were clearly against him, and it was with difficulty that they restrained themselves from "cutting him to pieces."[41] Deming was indicted for the killing of Marshal, but died before coming to trial.

The elections in August saw the office of Sheriff filled by the pro-Mormon Backenstos. The old citizens of Hancock were aggrieved at what they considered to be the continued disenfranchisement of established gentiles by the alien, authoritarian, theocratic Mormon "brotherhood" in Nauvoo. The electoral system had failed the gentile anti-Mormons and stood as a vehicle for the enhancement of Mormon power and influence in "their" county. On September 15th the anti-Mormons took the direct action of driving out those pro-Mormon officers who were elected in August. Ethel E. Rose, Treasurer and Assessor, together with Chauncy Robison, County Recorder and School Commissioner, were ordered to leave town by some eight to ten men, and they did.[42]

In the face of the evident weakness of the agents of control, the anti-Mormons were becoming more direct and violent in their intimidation of Mormons and were seeking less specific justification for their actions. In September, 1845, an anti-Mormon meeting held to discuss ways of overcoming Mormon property trustee arrangements, which prevented the execution of legal judgments on Mormon

property pooled among the Mormons,[43] was fired upon. The attack was blamed on the Mormons, and as one document indicates, "preparations were immediately made to take revenge. Accordingly, on Wednesday night, an attack was made on what is known as Morley's settlement, in the vicinity, and two or three houses burned . . . ."[44] By Sunday it was estimated that as many as sixty Mormon houses in various parts of Hancock had been destroyed.[45] Levi Williams was believed to have been at the head of the "burners."[46]

The response of Backenstos to this situation was so dubious and partisan that it led the governor to declare a state of insurrection and forced him to intervene. Thus both the citizens and the executive were impugning the integrity of elected local officers, declaring them unable to enforce the law they had been elected to uphold or to abide by it themselves. Backenstos and his men were held responsible for the deaths of an anti-Mormon, Franklin Worrell,[47] and Samuel McBrainey (or McBracking),[48] whom Backenstos believed had been involved in the "burnings." He then swooped upon Carthage with an armed force. One citizen, Jason H. Sherman, stated in an affidavit that Backenstos entered the town with about four hundred men and placed guards at strategic points to prevent the citizens from escaping. Also, according to Sherman, he placed a garrison of some fifty men in the courthouse.[49] The county was in a virtual state of occupation. Backenstos issued passes to those whom he considered to be on legitimate business so that they would be protected by his posse from molestation by the mob or their spies.[50]

The governor ordered a force led by Hardin to intervene. When Hardin arrived, Backenstos' posse was dismissed, and Hardin ordered that no armed force of more than four men was to assemble anywhere in the county. Hardin became the immediate source of authority and, as such, attempted to investigate the *prima facie* causes of unrest in the area and apprehend the culprits. Hardin and his troops marched into Nauvoo to search for one Phineas Wilcox, who was presumed to have been abducted while visiting relatives in the city. While there Hardin, together with W. B. Warren, Stephen A. Douglas, and J. A. McDougal, conferred with the leaders of the Mormon Church concerning the possible removal of the Mormons from the state.[51] Brigham Young, as requested, confirmed the Mormon intention to remove, outlining the details in writing.

The negotiation of the removal of the Mormons by the governor's agents was highly significant in so far as it demonstrated the acquiesence of the agents of control in the anti-Mormon goal of vicinal separation. It also signified the capitulation of the agents of control—in other words, their withdrawal from the obligation to protect the Mormons *qua* citizens of the state. The transfer of initiative to the anti-Mormons was perhaps symbolized by the

meeting of the "Nine County Convention" on October 1, 1845, in Carthage. Representatives from nine counties, excluding Hancock, which believed that they had a vested interest in the outcome of the conflict, met to ortanize *their* response to the situation, quite independently of any formal agent of control. Thomas Sharp, in his manuscript history, emphasized that the gentiles who attended were non-partisan in their bid for control, both political parties being represented at the convention. The convention organized itself into various committees. One committee busied itself with collecting affidavits from citizens detailing Mormon "outrages" over the past few years. Another committee under Colonel Singleton of Brown County put forward a plan for the military organization of gentile defenses: all those who wished to volunteer to support the proceedings of the convention were to form military companies and report themselves to a Military Committee at Quincy by November 1st.[52] The convention resolved that while it would endeavor not to hinder the Mormon exodus, it would stand ready to act in the event of any breach of the agreement. The assumption of the roles of supervisor and legitimate defender of gentile citizen interests by the anti-Mormons is epitomized through this convention. The separation of their fulfillment of these roles from any cooperation or coalition with formally constituted agents of control is also clear. The anti-Mormons did follow through their publicly expressed right to supervise, and the convention remained an autonomous form of anti-Mormon organization. As the spring of 1846, the time of expected Mormon departure, drew closer, preparations for removal were closely observed by the anti-Mormons. In early April, for example, J. H. Sherman, A. Hamilton, and S. Comer visited Nauvoo to ascertain the stage that removal preparations had reached.[53]

During the winter of 1845-1846 a peace-keeping force was maintained in Hancock County under the command of Major William Warren. Warren's force, amounting to two companies, was, however, unable to prevent the continuance of covert acts of violence against individuals. It was becoming both impossible and impolitic to execute the law with any rigor—impossible in such cases as the shooting of Edmund Durfee, who was killed while trying to put out the fire in a Mormon friend's hayrick, which had been started by an arsonist. Arrests were made but witnesses were extremely difficult to obtain as many feared that to testify would put their own lives at risk.[54] The Mormons, finding Warren's force inadequate, made their own arrangements to patrol "threatened areas" in small companies. The Mormons had become increasingly introverted since removal had been posed as "the" solution, their prime concerns now being to execute the sacred duties of completing the Temple and performing as many Endowment Ceremonies within its walls as

possible.[55] Quick and efficient removal of the Mormons was the main reason why execution of the law was becoming impossible for reasons of expedience. Warren was in possession of writs against the Twelve for "treason," but he did not serve them. Similarly, Ford did not assist the U.S. Marshal to obtain custody of those Mormon leaders indicted at the December term of the Circuit Court of the U.S. for the District of Illinois on the charge of counterfeiting the coin of the United States.[56] Each refrained from acting in order not to detain the Mormon leaders and thereby risk slowing down the removal process.

Warren was not, however, without support. There was, during the winter of 1845-1846, a shift in the alignment of parties to the conflict. The more moderate anti-Mormons were calling a halt to the violence, isolating the more extremist wing of anti-Mormon feeling. A meeting of the citizens of Carthage in November, 1845, for example, deprecated the burnings and killings, pledged support for Warren, and proclaimed it the duty of all anti-Mormons to keep the peace.[57] Similar calls to refrain from hostilities, at least until June, were made at meetings in Brown and Henderson counties.[58]

An entirely new group was also now in formation. As the Mormons sold their property and began the trek West, "new citizens" moved into Nauvoo with obvious vested interests in defending the city and their newly acquired property within it. This new group became an object of harassment by ultra-anti-Mormons. In their struggle to protect themselves the new citizens did not receive the full and active support of the governor. Ford was gaining a reputation for deliberately pursuing a policy of studied inertia. It was reported in the *Sangamo Journal* of May 7, 1846 that he had written to the Mormon representative Almon Rabbitt to the effect that should the Nine County Convention wish to enforce Mormon removal he could do little about it. Indeed, when a force of three to four hundred anti-Mormons mounted an abortive attack on Nauvoo in June,[59] the new citizens responded by appointing their own "Committee of Public Safety," consisting of fifty persons, and resolving to appeal to the Nine County Carthage Convention for aid to restore peace. There was, therefore, a tacit acceptance of the impotence of the governor and recognition of the effective organization, if not the legitimacy, of moderate anti-Mormonism as represented through the Nine County Convention. Given the irresistible trend of events, it became increasingly acceptable that the combatants should inevitably and appropriately fight it out between themselves outside the framework of established authority and without the intervention of its agents.

Before the final debacle there was one last attempt to use the law and its officers to settle a Mormon/anti-Mormon dispute which

illustrates the complete collapse of "objective," consensual law, and the presence of two enforcement systems, each separately legitimized in terms of the vested interests of the respective combatants. Some Mormons had been harvesting wheat on the farm of a man called Rice, when they allegedly began behaving badly, taking oats from a Mr. Lofton. They were summarily whipped and sent back to Nauvoo.[60] Upon their return to the Mormon city, a posse was mustered which proceeded to the house of Major McAuley, capturing him and James W. Brattle. The anti-Mormons retaliated by capturing five Mormons, while a further Mormon posse attempted to even the score by capturing fifteen additional anti-Mormons.[61] It was firmly believed that the governor would not intervene.[62] Writs were sworn out for the arrest of some citizens of Nauvoo who were believed to have participated in the mutual capture of hostages, principally Pickett, Clifford and Furness.[63] Pickett resisted arrest on the grounds that to submit would be to place his life in danger. Deputy Sheriff John Carlin, therefore, called out a posse to take him. Anti-Mormons began to assemble in support of Carlin, while pro-Mormons maintained that Carlin was not legitimately appointed, that he was no more than an anti-Mormon "regulator" sheriff.[64] Judicial chaos was compounded by the intrusion of Special Constable John C. Bidamon who attempted to arrest various anti-Mormons who were in armed array near Green Plains, principally Levi Williams, George Thatcher and George Bachman.[65]

Finally, in desperation, the citizens of Nauvoo applied to Governor Ford for a major of militia to restore order. Ford, aroused out of his apathy once again by force of circumstance,[66] ordered Major Parker to Hancock with ten men from Fulton County and authority to raise volunteers to swell his force. Parker's brief was to ascertain how many persons in Nauvoo were Mormons, to assist any peace officer with *proper* warrants to make arrests, and to protect Nauvoo against attack. The logic of Parker's position was, therefore, one aligned against the anti-Mormons rather than one in which he was an objective and impartial enforcer of the law. Parker duly ordered those who had assembled under Carlin to disperse. The anti-Mormons were, however, confident enough and sufficiently well organized to openly defy Parker. So Carlin resisted and was supported in his action by some of the citizens of Adams, Hancock, Warren and Henderson counties who published their disapproval of Parker's interference, which they considered to be "unwarrantable" and "illegal."

Clearly the anti-Mormons were now going beyond mere assertion of legitimacy towards a position in which they felt able to use an *assumed* legitimacy as a platform from which they could impugn the legitimacy of the formal agents of control. The latter acknowl-

edged the *de facto* legitimacy of the anti-Mormons when they entered into negotiations with them with a view to drawing up peace proposals. Carlin's posse, now swelled to about eight hundred men and now under the command of James W. Singleton, however, refused to agree to the terms Parker and Singleton negotiated. Singleton resigned his command and Thomas Brockman, a Campbellite preacher from Brown County, took over command of the anti-Mormon forces.

Under their new commander the anti-Mormon forces marched to Nauvoo on September 10th, making their camp about three miles from the Temple.[68] Ford, upon the representation of Mr. Bideman, had ordered Major Flood, of Adams County, to raise an additional force to suppress the outbreak. Flood, however, declined to act as directed because he believed that any force he might be able to raise for the defences of Nauvoo would be more than matched by the "rioters." He made an attempt to mediate peace but this failed. He therefore handed over his authority to the people of Nauvoo, who elected B. Clifford to command them. Thus came the explicit acknowledgement by one of Ford's agents that he could do nothing but capitulate in the face of anticipated popular support for the anti-Mormon cause.

After a few days of skirmishing a battle took place on September 12th. For the anti-Mormons this was no riot, nor the action of a rabble, but an honorable encounter, a significant battle demanding strategy, dutiful execution, and the pride of service—as George Rockwell's account of the event shows:

> In forming the line of battle on that day, the Warsaw Rifle Company was divided into two, and deployed out on the right and left to scan the cornfields and bushes, and prevent the army from falling into ambush. As 2nd in command of the Company, I had command of the left wing. We received the first fire of the enemy in a cornfield, and stood our ground manfully, returned their fire, advanced and drove them from their position .... The General says we did more execution than any Company in the field except the artillery. When orders were given to retire, we were the last on the field and in good order I had the honor of bringing up the rear.[69]

The Mormons, new citizens, and the agents of control had lost. The last Mormons eventually left Hancock County in 1847. "Mobocracy" had triumphed over institutional authority. But it was not the triumph of a moment of spontaneous uprising—a sudden surge of vengeful revolt. It was the culmination of a process of disillusionment with the agents of control and a fitful transfer of initiative, efficacy and legitimacy of purpose to the anti-Mormons of Hancock County and its environs.

NOTES

[1]There are many valuable primary sources for this period, particularly the newspapers, which have not, in the author's opinion, been used to the full. See also the Deming Letters, the Thomas Sharp and Allied Anti-Mormon Papers, Broadsides in the Chicago State Historical Society, and the Thomas Bagby Letters.

[2]Many accounts of the Illinois period are contained in biographies of Joseph Smith—e.g., F. M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History,* 2nd ed. (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1971) and D. Hill, *Joseph Smith, the First Mormon* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday 1977). Such biographies obviously do not cover the last years of the Mormon occupation of Nauvoo in any detail. Other studies are more concerned with the city of Nauvoo itself, its social and political organization, and therefore, pay less attention to the gentile population of Hancock County—e.g., D. E. Miller and D. S. Miller, *Nauvoo, the City of Joseph* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974); R. B. Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1965).

[3]These are themes and not stages, becoming stronger or weaker at different times during this period and do not in any way necessarily follow each other chronologically.

[4]"Message from the Governor, in reaction to the Disturbances in Hancock County," *Nauvoo Neighbor,* 1 Jan. 1845, p. 2, col. 5.

[5]The *State Register* (Springfield), a pro-Democratic Party newspaper, was at pains to make excuses for Ford's torpidity. See, for example, "Mormon Affairs," 20 Sept. 1844, p. 2, col. 2.

[6]See T. Gregg, *History of Hancock County, Illinois* (Chicago: Chas. C. Chapman, 1880), p. 450; T. C. Pease, *Illinois Election Returns 1818-1848* (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1923), pp. 147 and 390, for the election results.

[7]D. H. Oaks and M. S. Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1975), p. 46.

[8]It is difficult to say with any certainty whether "Wolf Hunt" was a code term for night riding against Mormons, as R. B. Flanders in his *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1965), p. 323 suggests. The *Nauvoo Neighbor* mentioned an anti-Mormon hunt of this kind in its February 28, 1844 issue ("Wolf Hunt," p. 2, col. 5.), although it was not clear who or what was to be hunted. The September encampment could have been intended as little more than an opportunity for militia companies to get together and swap military tips. Such gatherings were held in other areas, according to one correspondent ("N"), of the *Alton Telegraph:* "The Mormons and Gov. Ford," 5 Oct. 1844, p. 1, cols. 1-2. T. Gregg, in his *The Prophet of Palmyra* (New York: J. B. Alden, 1890), pp. 293-94, stated that the September encampment was called for by the officers of several independent companies.

[9]Rumors were circulating that the anti-Mormons had enlisted the aid of "some thousands of the Missourians" in their allegedly nefarious plans. See "Later," *Niles National Register,* 5 Oct. 1844, p. 68, col. 1.

[10]"The Last Humbug," *Warsaw Signal,* 25 Sept. 1844, p. 2, col. 1.

[11]"The Anti-Mormon War," *Sangamo Journal,* 26 Sept. 1844, p. 2, cols. 1-2; and "Further Remarks—the Mormon Difficulties," cols. 2-3. The pro-Ford and anti-Ford presses spent some time arguing about the exact number of troops Ford had sent to the scene, respectively trying to diminish or enhance the presumed buffoonery of the event.

[12]See Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed., rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1948-1951), VII, 310. Indeed the Governor had reviewed the Nauvoo Legion in case it should prove necessary to call it into service as part of a peace keeping force.

[13]See E. Everett, "Reminiscences of the Mormon War in Illinois," *Illinois State Historical Library Publications,* 10, (1906), 184, for an account of the "Wolf Hunt" from the

point of view of a member of the Quincy Riflemen ("militiamen" mustered by Governor Ford), and for the statement that some arrangement was made between the protagonists to avert confrontation.

[14]For Ford's account see Governor Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois* (New York: S. C. Griggs and Co., 1854), pp. 364-65; for the anti-Mormon view see "History of the Latest Mormon War—Chapter 1," *Warsaw Signal,* 9 Oct. 1844, p. 2, cols. 1-2, and 16 Oct. 1844, (not headed), p. 2, col. 4.

[15]The anti-Mormons believed that this had been Ford's original aim in calling out the militia. Ford admitted the truth of this in his *History of Illinois,* p. 367.

[16]Ford, *History of Illinois,* p. 366.

[17]See the Thomas Sharp and Allied Anti-Mormon Papers, "Agreement of Counsel," [Ms. 4], Western Americana Collection, Yale University; "History of the Latest Mormon War—Chapter II," *Warsaw Signal,* 9 Oct. 1844, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

[18]The term "Expositor Rioters" refers to those allegedly involved in the destruction of the first and only edition of a schismatic anti-Mormon newspaper, the *Nauvoo Expositor.* See D. H. Oaks, "The Suppression of the Nauvoo Expositor," *Utah Law Review,* 9, (1965), 862-903.

[19]In "Mormon Affairs," the *State Register* of November 1, 1844, p. 2, col. 2, stated that eight were indicted on the charge of murdering Joseph Smith, and "seven or eight" were indicted on the charge of riot arising out of the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor.* J. H. Jackson was not indicted for the murder of Joseph Smith.

[20]"George T. M. Davis," *State Register,* 8 Nov. 1844, p. 2, col. 2: "To the Public," *Alton Telegraph,* 26 Oct. 1844, p. 3, cols. 2-3.

[21]See C. M. Thompson, "The Illinois Whigs Before 1846," *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences,* 4, (1915), 105-06; "Illinois Legislature," *Alton Telegraph,* 1 Feb. 1845, p. 3, col. 3.

[22]*History of the Church,* VII, 370. Legally the Mormons could now only organize their city under the general law governing the incorporation of towns. This law was clearly difficult to apply to a large city like Nauvoo, as it stipulated that city limits extend for only one square mile. Ford could only advise Brigham Young to make a number of incorporations to cover the extent of Nauvoo. It appears that Young did make some moves to incorporate at least part of Nauvoo on this basis. See *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout 1844-1861,* ed. J. Brooks (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1964), I. 29; *History of the Church,* pp. 399-400.

[23]"Public Meeting," *Warsaw Signal,* 1 Jan. 1845, p. 2, cols. 3-4. The Mormons denied the allegations and pledged to increase the police force in Nauvoo and to ferret out criminals. See "Stealing," *Nauvoo Neighbor,* 9 Jan. 1845, p. 2, col. 4; "The Voice of Nauvoo!" *Times and Seasons,* 15 Jan. 1845, pp. 773-75. See also, Letter of Ann Pitchforth to "My Dear Father & Mother," postmarked April 23, 1845, Special Collections, Brigham Young University.

[24]The term "old citizens" was used to denote the gentile population of Hancock County and its environs. It was used in contradistinction to Mormon and pro, or Jack, Mormon and did not necessarily mean that the persons so described had lived in the area for a long period.

[25]"From the State Register," *Nauvoo Neighbor,* 14 May 1845, p. 2, col. 5.

[26]See the M. R. Deming Letters covering this period, Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

[27]"Hancock Affairs," *State Register,* 24 Apr. 1845, p. 3, col. 3.

[28]The Carthage Greys had been on duty at the jail when the Smiths were killed and were believed to have been party to the events of that day.

[29]For an outraged response to this, see "The Carthage Greys," *State Register,* 11 Apr. 1845, p. 2, col. 5.

[30]"Mormon Troubles," *Niles National Register,* 24 May 1845, p. 180, col. 3. *Niles National Register* was a Maryland paper. There were many stories concerning the alleged activities of a "whistling and whittling brigade," a band of youths who would surround an unwelcome visitor to the city of Nauvoo and proceed to whistle and whittle with large bowie knives until the unwanted guest left the city.

[31]"A Rescue," *Sangamo Journal,* 16 Jan. 1845, p. 3, col. 4.

[32]John Elliott had attended various anti-Mormon meetings and had previously been arrested by the Mormons for his alleged role in the kidnapping of a Mormon called Avery. For details of this arrest see "The Late Arrest," *Warsaw Message,* 3 Jan. 1844, p. 1, col. 4; p. 2, col. 1.

[33]Letter of Walter Bagby to "Dear Sister," 9 Mar. 1845, Rogers-Bagby Papers, King Library, University of Kentucky Libraries.

[34]Three of the Hodge brothers, Amos, William and Stephen, were sought for the crime. The latter two were indicted, found guilty and eventually hanged. There was some debate in the press as to whether the Hodges were Mormons. While there is little doubt that the Hodge family had connections with the Church, there is no direct evidence that the two brothers who were convicted were members of the Church. See *History of the Church,* VI, 149; VII, 627, regarding Abraham Hodge's association with the Church (the father of the brothers). For Amos Hodge's connection with the Church see *History of the Church,* VII, 135. In July another brother, Erwin Hodge, was clubbed and stabbed to death. See E. Bonney, *The Banditti of the Prairies or the Murderer's Doom* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers, 1855), especially pp. 27-48.

[35]Many leading Mormons such as Brigham Young remained in hiding to avoid the service of writs which were reported to be circulation. *History of the Church,* VII, 408.

[36]Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy,* pp. 101-02, offers the view that such a decision on the part of Judge Young was unprecedented. Governor Ford in his message to the Illinois Legislature in December, 1846, maintained that the anti-Mormons were quite entitled to have the array quashed. See *Record of the General Assembly of Hancock County 1839-1853,* Illinois State Archives. The elisors were Thomas H. Owen, a Jack-Mormon, and William D. Abernethy, an anti-Mormon.

[37]Ford, *History of Illinois,* pp. 368-69.

[38]See the evidence of Thomas English and C. Gorrell, Manuscript of the Testimony of the Witnesses in the Joseph Smith Murder Trial, May 19-28, 1845, n.p., Mormon Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[39]Brackenbury and Daniels were later explicitly accused of perjury. See "Communication," *Sangamo Journal,* 7 Aug. 1845, p. 2, col. 3. There is some speculation in current work that Lamborn may have been bribed. See D. Hill, *Joseph Smith the First Mormon,* p. 431.

[40]The trial of those accused of the murder of Hyrum Smith, scheduled for June 24th, was dismissed for want of prosecution.

[41]Letter of Walter Bagby to "Dear William," 2 July 1845, Rogers-Bagby Papers, King Library, University of Kentucky Libraries. See also Letters of M. R. Deming of 24 June 1845 and 1 July 1845, Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

[42]Thomas Shrap, "Driving Out the Jack Mormons," Manuscript History of the Anti-Mormon Disturbances in Illinois, n.p., Western Americana Collection, Yale University.

[43]This meeting was held at a School House near Green Plains. See *The History of Adams County, Illinois* (Chicago: Murray, Williamson & Phelps, 1897), p. 113, concerning the reason for holding the meeting.

[44]Thomas Sharp, Chapter 1. (No title), Manuscript History of the Anti-Mormon Disturbances in Illinois, n.p., Western Americana Collection, Yale University.

[45]"More Troubles in Hancock," *Alton Telegraph,* 20 Sept. 1845, p. 2, col. 5. George Rockwell in a letter of September 23, 1845 gave an estimate of forty to fifty dwellings destroyed. See Extracts from the Letters of George Rockwell to his Father, Kansas State Historical Society.

[46]Others later sought for their participation were Joseph Harneys, Joseph Lamberth, Mat(t)hew Hines, Garson Orr, John Howell and Mr. Brackenridge, a lawyer. Their names appear on a printed form requesting the detention of suspected arsonists, dated October 1, 1845, Mason Brayman Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

[47]Franklin Worrell was hailed as an anti-Mormon martyr and, according to Thomas Sharp's narrative, Chapter 2 "Murder of Worrell," he was killed whilst investigating the burning of Mormon property. Worrell had been a member of the Carthage Greys and Sergeant of the Guard at Carthage jail when the Smiths were killed. He was related by marriage to anti-Mormon Thomas Gregg. Backenstos was indicted for the murder of Worrell at the October term of the Circuit Court was later acquitted at Peoria.

[48]Samuel McBratney was murdered by a posse under the presumed leadership of the Sheriff and Bishop Miller while passing through Bear Creek Settlement with a party of the "burners." George Rockwell issued a writ against Backenstos for murder. See Letter of George Rockwell to his Father, 23 Sept. 1845, Kansas State Historical Society. Also Letter of J. M. Grout to the Rev. Charles Hall, 1 Dec. 1845, American Home Missionary Society Collection, Amistad Research Centre, New Orleans.

[49]Affidavit of J. H. Sherman, dated 2 Oct. 1845, in Thomas Sharp, "Printed Matter," Manuscript History of the Anti-Mormon Disturbances in Illinois (sheet labelled "8"), Western Americana Collection, Yale University.

[50]For one example, see "Pass from Backenstos for the safe passage of Mr. Baker," dated 23 Sept. 1845, Hardin Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[51]The question of Mormon removal had been put forward earlier by a Committee from Quincy, Illinois; and as early as September 9th, 1845 the Council of Fifty had met and resolved to send out a company of one thousand five hundred men to the Great Salt Lake Valley. *History of the Church,* VII, 439.

[52]See Thomas Sharp, "The Convention," Manuscript History of the Anti-Mormon Disturbances in Illinois, p. 10, Western Americana Collection, Yale University.

[53]"From Hancock County," *Sangamo Journal,* 30 Apr. 1846, p. 1, col. 6.

[54]See Letter of Richards to Brayman, 18 Nov. 1845, Mason Brayman Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

[55]"Endowments" were ordinances of the Church involving important Temple rituals. They were associated with purity, power, and priestly authority. They had evolved from the Kirtland, Ohio, period of Mormonism and were progressively administered to a larger number of the faithful. Perhaps the most explicit reference to them comes in a Revelation of January 19, 1841, especially v. 39; see *Doctrine and Covenants,* Section 124. For other mentions, see *History of the Church,* II, pp. 197, 287, 309, and 431; V, p. 412; VI, p. 98; VII, pp. 479, 541, 556, 567, 570, and 579. The secrecy born of the sacredness of the rituals led to speculation as to what "really went on." Specifically, whether the ceremonies were licentious or culled from Masonic ritual. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints believes that the Endowments were not introduced by Joseph Smith but by Brigham Young.

[56]See Records relating to the Indictment in Illinois of Brigham Young and other Apostles of the Mormon Church on charges of Counterfeiting, 1845-1848, Records of the Solicitor of the Treasury, National Archives, Record Group 206.

[57]"Proceedings of a Meeting of the Citizens of Carthage," dated 18 Nov. 1845, Mason Brayman Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

[58]"The Mormons," *Alton Telegraph,* 2 May 1846, p. 2, col. 4.

[59]The anti-Mormons maintained that the force they had assembled was for peaceful purposes to ensure speedy Mormon removal and that the threat of violent action was initiated by Backenstos, subsequent to the anti-Mormons having reached an agreement with the New Citizens. For three slightly differing accounts of this encounter, see "War in Hancock," *Sangamo Journal,* 14 June 1846 (no title), p. 1, cols. 1-2; "Circular of the New Citizens," dated 15 June 1846, Mormon Broadsides, Chicago Historical Society.

[60]"More Difficulties in Hancock," *Warsaw Signal Extra,* 16 July 1846, p. 1, cols. 1 ff.

[61]Letter of Wesley Williams to "My Dear Son," 1 Aug. 1846, Western Americana Collection, Yale University.

[62]Both "A Letter from the Governor," *Sangamo Journal,* 16 July 1846, p. 2, col. 3; and "Progress of the Insurrection in Hancock!" *Hancock Eagle Extra,* 13 July 1846, p. 1, cols. 1 & 2, expressed this belief.

[63]The anti-Mormons may have had a political motive in seeking the arrest of these three men. "A Deep Game," *Warsaw Signal Extra,* 31 July 1846, p. 1, col. 1, asserted that there was some intrigue between them and "certain independent candidates" to gain the Mormon vote to ensure their return at the forthcoming elections.

[64]"Mob Law in Hancock," *Hancock Eagle Extra,* 18 Aug. 1846, p. 1, cols. 1 & 2.

[65]John C. Bidamon, "Proclamation! To the Citizens of Hancock County," *Hancock Eagle Extra,* 20 Aug. 1846, p. 1.

[66]Ford in his order to Major Flood had expressed the view that he had hoped he would never again have to intervene in the affairs of Hancock, but that the present state of affairs wich such as he would never have anticipated. Ford to Flood, 3 Sept. 1846, *Record of the General Assembly of Hancock County 1839-1853,* Illinois State Archives.

[67]"To the Public," undersigned by Citizens of Adams, Hancock, Warren and Brown counties, dated 19 Aug. 1846, Chicago Historical Society.

[68]"War! War! Battle Fought in Nauvoo," *Warsaw Signal Extra,* 14 Sept. 1846, p. 1, col. 2, gave the numerical strength of the combatants as: anti-Mormons around seven hundred men, Nauvoo residents around three to four hundred men.

[69]Letter of George Rockwell to his Father, 20 Sept. 1846, Kansas State Historical Society.

ELLIS PARKER BUTLER: POPULAR HUMORIST AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

Jeffrey J. Folks

While he is not widely known today, Ellis Parker Butler was a prolific and successful humorist in the first decades of this century, publishing hundreds of stories in magazines and numerous books.[1] Changing with the times, Butler's writing is a good barometer of popular taste—at least with respect to the broad middle class, emerging with the rapid expansion of the American economy after the turn of the century. His stories originally appeared in such magazines as *Yellow Book, National, Midland Monthly, American* and, later, *The Saturday Evening Post.*

Born December 5, 1869, in Muscatine, Iowa, on the Mississippi River, Butler wrote fiction which reflected his midwestern origins. Despite the fact that he completed only one year of high school, he was encouraged to write by teachers in Muscatine, where he grew up. Butler left Iowa in 1897, and two years later established the *Decorative Furnisher* magazine in New York. At the same time, he began publishing stories in popular magazines, which had entered a period of significant growth in mass readership through the inexpensive formats popularized by *McClure's.* Writing for this expanding market, he produced at least thirty-five books, for the most part collections of short stories and juvenile fiction, between 1900 and his death in 1937.

Butler can be placed within the literary tradition of nineteenth-century regional humorists, of which Mark Twain is the most prominent example. Consciously citing Twain as one of his models, Butler also noted the influence of Bob Burdette (Robert Jones Burdette), a vastly popular humorist and fellow resident of Iowa who wrote for the nearby Burlington *Hawk-Eye* from 1847—1880 and went on to a career as lecturer and preacher. In Twain and Burdette, Butler found models who used the small town both as the object of humorous jibes and as the locus from which to satirize the sophistication of the modern urban scene. Each of these humorists used standard devices of nineteenth-century regional humor: rhyming prose para-

graphs, satire, ridicule of cultural myths, the epigram, local color, and humorous analogy.[2] Butler is distinctive in that he came later, and found himself in a society in which rural and small-town life was even more significantly devalued.

So popular was Butler during his lifetime, and so greatly have his books fallen from favor today, that one might expect to find in his career some indication of a shift in the popular reading taste between 1910, when Butler was at the height of his career, and 1940, when most of his works were out of print. Such a shift, away from rural and traditional materials and toward urban sophistication, did occur, and it had an impact on Butler's favorite subject matter, the small town and rural America. His early stories appeared from 1895–1915, mirroring the tastes of the small, midwestern town of Muscatine, Iowa, which he had recently left for New York. These stories deal predominantly with rural or small-town subjects and express attitudes that are traditional and even folkloric.[3] As did other writers of this period, including Ring Lardner and Bob Burdette, Butler created humor from a bumpkin's awkward and ill-handled dealings with sophisticated urbanites. However, since his sympathies are clearly with the rural hero, Butler causes his main characters to succeed even in urban environments, demonstrating to many readers that their rural perspectives and attitudes may still be superior to the new tide of urbanization.

Butler is perhaps best remembered for his story of 1906, "Pigs is Pigs." Last reprinted in a Dover edition in 1966 and still in print, the story relates station attendant Mike Flannery's humorous struggle to communicate through letters with the Interurban Railway headquarters while guinea pigs multiply in his office. The story's outcome turns on whether guinea pigs are to be classified and thus charged as "pigs" or "domestic animals."

> "Do as you loike, then!" shouted Flannery, "pay for thim an' take thim, or don't pay for thim and leave thim be. Rules is rules, Misther Morehouse, an' Mike Flannery's not goin' to be called down fer breakin' of thim."
>
> "But, you everlasting stupid idiot!" shouted Mr. Morehouse, madly shaking a flimsy printed book beneath the agent's nose, "can't you read it here—in your own plain printed rates? 'Pets, domestic, Franklin to Westcote, if properly boxed, twenty-five cents each.' " He threw the book on the counter in disgust. "What more do you want? Aren't they pets? Aren't they domestic? Aren't they properly boxed? What?"[4]

As Flannery patiently attempts to ascertain the correct rate for them, the guinea pigs uncooperatively multiply until they occupy every corner of his small office. The conclusion of this "stretcher" is the announcement from the Interurban headquarters that "guinea pigs is pets" and are charged accordingly by the lower rate. The

delight which so many readers found in Butler's famous story "Pigs is Pigs" certainly stems, at least in part, from a nostalgia for the passing simplicity of small-town life, combined with a vague uneasiness about increasing urbanization. Mike Flannery is a brilliant comic creation because he epitomizes the transition between rural and urban America through his comic struggle with literacy, bureaucracy, and mechanization in his position as Westcote agent for the Interurban Express Company.

In this and other stories Mike Flannery appears as the illiterate Irishman of folklore, falling into difficulty whenever he must communicate through writing in his position as express office agent. For example, Flannery attempts to communicate the increase in the number of guinea pigs and their expenses in maintenance:

> "Audit Dept." he wrote, when he had finished the count, "you are way off there may be was one hundred and sixty dago pigs once, but wake up don't be a back number. I've got eight hundred, now shall I collect for eight hundred or what, how about sixty-four dollars I paid out for cabbages." It required a great many letters back and forth before the Audit Department was able to understand why the error had been made of billing one hundred and sixty instead of eight hundred, and still more time for it to get the meaning of the "cabbages." (pp. 45-46)

He is physically as well as verbally clumbsy, yet Flannery displays an admirable quality of rebelliousness—particularly in "The Three Hundred," in *Pups and Pies* (1927), when confronted by unnecessary regulations such as the General Orders by which he receives a Simplified Spelling List of 300 words. Flannery tries to obey the order to employ the simplified spelling, and as in other instances, it is his literal interpretation of the order which leads to misunderstandings. Butler's satire of progressive thinking is implicit in a number of his stories. In this case the confusion and bad feeling which are caused by the distribution of a Simplified Spelling List leads us to conclude that Butler favors convention over "progressive" usage. The comic structure of the story is that of a clever plan which turns out to cause more problems than it solves.

Reflecting his Iowa upbringing, Butler's stories projected the attitudes and, at times, the prejudices of the small town and rural America of his day, for the appeal of his humor is based on satire of urban and modern perspectives. While in novels such as *Philo Gubb, Correspondence School Detective* (1918) Butler turned his hand to detective fiction, it is significant that he maintains his practice of employing protagonists with rural backgrounds. *Philo Gubb* is not in any sense a believable detective, as he aspires to be; rather, he is a character who is designed by his creator to satirize the conventions of detective fiction as a sophisticated genre with urban roots. Butler's detective speaks a rural idiom, arrives in the city from Slocum, Ohio, and most importantly manages to outwit various

Ellis Parker Butler

urban criminals not because of his skill as a detective but because of his deceptive innocence and naivete. As with most of his fiction, Butler's detective novel is deeply rooted in the mind of the rural traditionalist. His novel demonstrates the triumph of the rural innocent over the urban culture with which he is threatened.

Similarly, Butler satirizes the impracticality of over-specialization among the intellectual elite. Philo Gubb at one point encounters Waldo Emerson Snooks, who relates his story to Philo:

> Upon graduation from Harvard, he had sought employment, offering to furnish entertainment by the evening, reading an essay entitled, "The Comparative Mentality of Ibsen and Emerson, with Sidelights on the Effect of Turnip Diet at Brook Farm," but the agency was unable to procure him any engagements. They happened, however, to receive a request from Mr. Dorgan, manager of the side show, asking for a Tasmanian Wild Man, and Mr. Snooks had taken that job. To his own surprise, he made an excellent Wild Man.[5]

Once again, the question of literacy or facility with language arises as a major theme of Butler's work. A written will devolves into a practical joke as Haddon O'Hara writes one on two sides of a sheet of paper, leaving his estate to two different heirs. Although it is impossible to determine which side was written first, through the work of Gubb, the estate is awarded to the deserving niece by way of a third will tacked to the top of a doghouse. Gubb discovers the will after bumping his head on the inside of the doghouse while searching for the lost dog. Another appearance of verbal technicality involves the refusal to pay a debt. Mr. Herr Schreckenheim, a famous tattoo artist, finds himself unable to collect from two clients whom he has provided with eagles on the chest—because of the technicality that the eagles are not provided with claws. As is typical of Butler's humor, an elaborate explanation is provided as to why the eagles lack claws. In the second case the client was forced to give up the claws in a skin graft operation.

While *Philo Gubb* is hardly Butler's finest work, and in fact demonstrates the anecdotal structure of his attempts at novel-length material, the book does convey with some precision the author's typical attitudes toward urban culture. Gubb's encounters with the transient population of a side-show, representatives of the rootless, verbally facile mass culture of urban America, demonstrate Butler's satiric point of view. One senses a fundamental traditionalism behind the gentle satire of the side-show residents. At one point Philo Gubb falls in love at first sight with Syrilla Medderbrook, who is working at the time in a freak show as the Fat Lady. While Philo loves her as she is—a half ton in weight—Syrilla embarks on a diet in order to get out of a five-year contract with the show. Syrilla's weight loss begins gradually, but soon she is losing at an alarming rate. Finally Syrilla's weight drops to five pounds less than nothing. Yet Gubb

Flannery spent a day herding his charges through a narrow opening in their cage so that he might count them.

Illustration from *Pigs is Pigs.*

later finds out that Syrilla's weight loss plan is a deception, and that she has married the Living Skeleton in the freak show. Mr. Medderbrook has been selling his daughter to Gubb at 25¢ per pound of lost weight, until she was to leave the show and join Gubb.

Although the values of rural and small-town America clearly stand at the center of Butler's satiric vision, his writing also projects an ambivalent view of the bumpkin-hero. Philo Gubb's career as a detective illustrates this ambivalence, for while he is the bungling detective who is easily misled by urbanites, he is also lucky enough, and perhaps shrewd enough, to outwit the sophisticated tricksters he encounters. In several instances his very bungling ignorance is enough to throw criminals off their guard. Gubb's naivete is also honesty; his verbal ineptness is physical shrewdness. Butler's defensiveness toward rural values results from the certainty that society was becoming more urbanized. But while he may satirize some features of urban life, he never seriously questions the underlying belief in material progress and pragmatism which one connects with industrialization.

Another point that distinguishes Butler as a rural humorist is the persistent satire of organizations—particularly those groups which are representative of modern culture. In *The Incubator Baby* (1906) Mrs. Fielding takes the problem of her infant daughter's constant crying to the local Mother's club, which in return appoints a committee of four to "direct the growth of Marjorie in mind, body, and soul."[6] Three prominent members of local society are elected to the committee, while Mrs. Fielding, the child's mother, "was added at the last moment . . . because the other members of the Mother's club said they had enough to do to look after their own babies" (p. 46).

Butler frequently adopts the rural humorist's nonchalance toward rigid organization of time. Again in *The Incubator Baby,* Mrs. Fielding and her committee adopt a detailed schedule for Marjorie's growth and activities. The schedule calls for Marjorie to creep in her ninth month. Believing that the infant is behind schedule, Chiswick, the child's nurse, encourages the child to begin crawling; but when Marjorie begins creeping immediately, six weeks ahead of schedule, Chiswick is forced to retard the child's progress by tying her to the bed with antiseptic bandages—and chiswick's action earns her a resolution of thanks from the committee! Such absurd consequences are the rural humorist's method of satirizing the modern overemphasis on exact schedules, especially when such schedules begin to enforce a mechanical conformity upon what the traditionalist views as an entirely private sphere of activities.

The Incubator Baby remains today among the more readable of Butler's stories, although, as with many of his works, it is some-

what dated. For instance, Butler underscored his belief in the traditional role of women by introducing a sympathetic character named Miss Vickers, who serves as private secretary for Marjorie. Miss Vickers is the only woman around the infant who understands the natural emotional needs of children. Butler describes Miss Vickers' rejection of women's emancipation: "She scoffed at the Higher Life for Women; she ate candy and avoided as much as possible her physical good. She refused to be emancipated. She had an idea it meant something in the way of doing without lacing and wearing shoes a size too large for one" (p. 58). The rural humorist's scepticism toward change is further voiced by the old-fashioned physician treating Marjorie. Not only does he tear up the list of rules and the schedule which the women's committee has prescribed, but he also orders a "course of good, old-style grandmothering" (p. 110).

"Mothering" is also the subject of "Interlude," one of several interesting stories in *The Behind Legs of the 'orse and Other Stories* (1927). It is an analysis of a youth's dependence on maternal presence in the home. When Anna Miller becomes ill, her husband and son must prepare dinner for themselves. Their ignorance and clumsiness in the kitchen are designed to attest to the central role of woman in the home. After fixing a tray of food for the bedridden mother, the young Ben prepares for bed by praying for her. In the morning Anna is up before the men, fixing breakfast. The story is trivial in the events it narrates, but it goes deeply into the consciousness of the boy Ben and his feelings of dependence toward his mother.

The psychology of youth is treated far less effectively in "The Demigod," in which a boy named Donald believes himself to be a young god. At first he believes he is Orpheus and tests his musical powers with the jew's-harp. Failing to move various objects, he believes he is some other kind of god. He tries to halt the rising of the flooded river. Then slowly the sense of being a god passes away, as he fails spelling tests and is outdistanced by other boys in athletics. He feels less than human. When Aunt Mary and Cousin Dorothy visit, Donald finds that he likes Dorothy, but his shyness gives her the impression that he is mean and doesn't like her. To prove that he does, he kisses her. With the kiss, he feels at last like a true demigod.

Another story in which literary forms are exposed to light satire is "Romance," in which Butler begins with a comparison between romance as it is—where there is always a tense battle between rivals—and courtship as it takes place in Postville, Iowa, where Susie Berkow lives. As a rural humorist, Butler seems consciously to reject the popular culture, or at least the literary, models for romance. Still, the everyday courtships in Postville are dripping with romance. Thus, Billy Bell is engaged to Susie Berkow, and he goes through stages

of being melancholy and jealous. The months of their courtship are turbulent because Billy is living the romance which will be forever stifled after marriage. The night before their marriage, as Billy worries about whether he can afford the honeymoon and set up housekeeping, romance leaves his mind for good.

In "The Behind Legs of the 'orse," Butler undercuts modernist pretensions to a purely aesthetic view of art. The story is designed as a dialogue on the role of art between the narrator—a button manufacturer named Henry Rodman—and Pierre Rochambeau, whose "art" consists of playing "the behind legs of the horse." The unappreciative Rodman fails to find any art in Pierre's act: "The fore-end of the horse was as funny as a box of monkeys, but I could not see that the hind legs did anything but follow the front end of the horse around, as they had to . . . ."[7] Pierre asks Henry's wife Bessie to elope with him to France, where they can together act the horse. She refuses, and in a film of his act Pierre realizes that he is not a great artist. He apologizes to Rodman, after learning that Bessie is his wife. He then returns to France with the intent of studying the horse another ten or twenty years. The criticism implicit in Butler's story is grounded in the populist belief that an artist is judged, ultimately, by his effectiveness in direct communication to a mass audience. Pierre's failure is a ludicrous loss of perspective in seeing himself as others do, for he assumes that there are those in the world who appreciate the fine touches of realism he lavishes on the behind legs of the horse. The irony is that, not only do others laugh at his pretentions, but he has never been able to see his own portrayal as the behind legs. It is appropriate that the cinema should reveal his failure, just as it reveals the effectiveness of George's broad humor in playing the fore end. (The narrator comments that the film will do poorly in New York but well outside the city, presumably because its burlesque humor will appeal to less sophisticated audiences.)

The ethic of pragmatism in Butler's writing creates peculiar types, extremes of humanity molded by the ethic of time in which they were born. In "Silent Joe of Fire Island Beach" we see a Galahad in the service of facts: "He was a fact-miser. For nearly twenty years he had been gathering facts, getting hold of what seemed to be a fact and then asking a thousand questions about it and testing the answers for truth, discarding what seemed untrue or doubtful, asking more questions . . . until he had what he believed was pure gold."[8] Silent Joe is but one of numerous "fact-misers" in Butler's fiction, and what makes them humorous is their lack of perspective regarding the distinction between human truth and factual truth. Believing as they do that subjective feelings are unimportant, such men are tested in the comedy by those very feelings

to which they are most vulnerable. A second comic feature is the inability of men like Silent Joe to place their facts in any larger context: to Joe a fact is indisputable and requires no qualification.

Two excellent stores from the collection *The Behind Legs of the 'orse and Other Stories* (1927) involve elements of storytelling from the oral tradition. "The Crisis" contains the folklore motif of "the impossibility of winning an argument with one's wife." Old Sam Wilkins has built a raft and decided to "ma roon" his wife and the rest of the world by casting off and living on the two-acre pond which he built on his farm many years before. His old friend Nicholas Wilhelm learns that Sam is convinced that there has been "nothin' but trouble and sin and meanness" since the world started. The real motive for his behavior is the lecturing he got from his wife after tracking mud into the house. With the arrival of dinner-time he smells cornbread cooking and invites Nicholas to dinner.

In "The Reformation of Uncle Billy," several older men, in the wake of a fervid revival service, vow to reform Uncle Billy of his habit of telling fish stories, a practice which they realize is Billy's chief joy in life. The complication is how to reform Billy without alienating him by telling him he is lying, or without killing him off (by depriving him of telling stretchers) before he is reformed. Deacon Abner brings to Billy's attention the special favors he has done him in the past, and in return he asks Billy to own up that he has caught not a four-pound bass but no fish at all that day. Reluctantly, Billy agrees. Billy feels saddened that his friends believe him a liar and are trying to reform him. He makes his way to the grocery where he places his sack on the scales and weighs out a four-pound, two-ounce bass.

Another of Butler's finest works, *Kilo* (1907), demonstrates his ability at describing the small-town milieu in fullness of detail. The pragmatic realism of the nineteenth-century regional humorist carries into Butler's work as he sets the novel in Clarence, a dwindling town in central Iowa ten miles from the railroad line in Kilo. After introducing Mrs. Tarbro-Smith, a New York society woman who has come to gather material for a local color novel, Butler shrewdly points out that the residents of Clarence are neither quaint material nor are they appreciative of Mrs. Tarbro-Smith's efforts. The town's one great reader, Butler points out, is Mrs. Stein, who reads advertising circulars and the Bible.

The utter lack of aesthetic considerations in new commercial America is the subject of Butler's first comment on the town of Kilo. As Eliph Hewitt drives into town for the first time, he considers, "He liked it. It was a real American town, and it looked like a good business town, because there could be no possible reason for people building a town on that particular situation unless it was

for business."[9] Butler continues by saying that there was no river, the town was entirely flat, and it was "as unbeautiful in location as it was in architecture." The reader may smile at the mild satire, but one should keep in mind that like his bungling hero Hewlitt, Butler himself liked Kilo and the values it represents: American pragmatism, productivity, and common sense. We may smile at the lack of sophistication and unaesthetic features, but we are not led to laugh at the underlying philosophy. Butler's talen lies in his ability to create light satire, and his facility at conveying the small-town viewpoint with warmth and appreciation.

Eliph Hewlitt is a humors comic character, since his actions are predictable according to his humor of following the advice of *Jarby's Encyclopedia of Knowledge*—the book which he has sold for many years. Thus, his courtship of Sally Briggs must follow, in proper order, the section on "Courtship—How to Win the Affections." The ending of the novel evolves from the single humor of its protagonist. Eliph sets out to rescue Miss Sally from having her name dragged into the press by T. J. Jones, who is ready to print the story of her defrauding Skinner the butcher by selling lung testers instead of fire extinguishers. By using *Jarby's Encyclopedia* Eliph shows Skinner how to convert the testers to fire extinguishers. He further warns editor Jones about libel law, and convinces him not to print the story about Mayor Stitz's accepting a bribe (on the ground that this would be contrary to *Jarby's* advice concerning courtship—in this case Jones' courtship of Miss Susan). Thus, by sticking to his humor—his singleminded faith in *Jarby's Encyclopedia,* and in the larger sense, in the pragmatic belief that a compendium of *facts* will provide immediate answers to all human problems—Eliph does rescue Miss Sally and marry her.

The values of optimism and business pragmatism at the turn of the century—the Horatio Alger mentality—are humorously presented in *Perkins of Portland* (1906) and in other stories. Perkins, an ad man from Chicago, concocts catchy phrases which sound good on paper, but which present difficulty in translating into business success. After devising a slogan for a plaster, Perkins finds that he must devise a plaster to meet his customers' demands. Using fly paper with holes cut into it as a plaster, he builds up a trade, and then sells out. This cycle is repeated with other products, until in the last scene we see Perkins aboard his yacht.

Perkins illustrates the relationship of Chicago to the surrounding rural areas. Chicago is the marketing and distribution point, but it is a city which is still conscious of and molded by the tastes of rural people. Sherwood Anderson finds much the same relationship later in the century, but by the 1920's, in Anderson's view, Chicago is less a center of opportunity and more an oppressive industrialized

machine, drawing rural and immigrant peoples into its grasp.

From Chicago Perkins the entrepreneur decides to market a mystery novel entitled *The Adventure of the Crimson Cord.* In his haste to advertise it, he forgets to acquire the text of the novel. Without reading Rosa Belle Vincent's submitted manuscript, he buys it for a thousand dollars (the work is selected from a stack of manuscripts because it arrived bound in red twine). The manuscript turns out to be a trashy novel previously published as *Lady Audley's Secretary.* After discovering the plagiarism, Perkins acquires another manuscript—this time from a naive, and presumably more honest, author, a recent high school graduate from Dillville, Indiana.

Perkins of Portland strings together a series of anecdotes in which the advertising promoter overcomes the obstacles which arise, in large measure, from his own huckster mentality. In the "Adventures of the Fifth Street Church" Perkins markets a subdivision in "Cloverdale" for which he provides on paper for a church on every street corner along Fifth Street. As the actual demand for lots skyrockets, Perkins concedes one church lot after another, until he finally arrives at a decision to "reunite" all the churches into one faith.

Such satire contains the potential for a serious critique of American business ethics, but Butler makes it clear that the primary purpose of his writing is not social criticism but light entertainment. The artistic failure of *Perkins of Portland* derives from the fact that the book establishes no serious theme, while the cleverness of Perkins' entrepreneurial schemes seems less amusing today than it must have in Butler's day. His contemporaries might have appreciated "The Adventure in Automobiles," in which the narrator describes the novel experience of climbing under a broken-down automobile as the "idiotic sensation of going to bed in public with my clothes on." On the underside of the automobile he encounters one of Perkins' "brilliant" advertising ideas—the injunction: "Don't Swear. Drink Glenguzzle." Even when Perkins turns his attention to manipulating the drama for advertising purposes, Butler's attitude remains uncritical and, one suspects, admiring. In the "Adventures of Princess of Pilliwink" Perkins sells ad space in a theatre production but finds his cast striking after they are forced to consume thirteen different breakfast cereals in one scene. Perkins overcomes this crisis by having the audience taste the foods at a reception for the cast after each performance.

None of the stories in *Perkins of Portland* is distinguished by the authentic vitality of the rural storyteller which characterizes "Pigs is Pigs," *The Incubator Baby,* and such stories as "Bread" and "Interlude." Perhaps the removal of the story from the rural milieu accounts for this lack of success (Perkins is *not* from Portland; he

operates from Chicago, although he reveals nothing of his background and communicates no sense of social heritage).

Although an awareness of the hucksterism and complacency of one level of American business is certainly implicit in Butler's writing, his humor works more to defuse potential criticism than to satirize business ethics. In "The Great American Pie Company" Mrs. Deacon and her competitor, Mrs. Doolittle, start pie businesses in the town of Gloning. The two husbands, Ephraim and Phineas, who act as deliverymen for their wives' products, meet and decide to settle a dispute over the Doolittles' practice of underselling the Deacons in the pie business. Deacon sells good pies for ten cents apiece, while Doolittle sells poor pies for eight cents, and neither wants to change her practice. Finally, Phineas suggests they form a stock company and divide profits on both operations. Then Phineas discloses a plan to raise prices gradually and eventually monopolize the pie business in Gloning. The plan grows into a giant vertically integrated corporation which will own all the bakeries, flour mills, and fruit farms; the corporation must also corner the cotton-belt and the timber-belt to assure cotton and timber for its sacks and barrels. The railroads must be bought up to assure low freight rates, and foreign competition will be prevented by manipulation of the import tariff. But then it occurs to the men that the labor unions might put them out of business and they might even be imprisoned by the masses, not to mention the difficulty of getting their wives to approve the plan. Only at the conclusion of the story is it revealed that neither man has a cent to his name.

Butler published in various formats for popular fiction. His *Beltzville Tales,* never published in book form, was serialized in small-town newspapers during 1910. One of the most incredible of these tales is the story which appeared on January 17, 1910, a grotesque story with analogues in oral tradition (the mistreatment of a corpse). The tale begins with the death of Orone McDooble's uncle, Hiram, after an automobile passed across him. Before dying, Hiram has Orone promise never to sit in an automobile, promising to turn over in his grave if Orone does. Shortly afterward, Orone finds Hiram mysteriously turned to stone. Shrewdly, Orone purchases a broken-down automobile to sit in while Hiram ("turning over in his grave") operates his mill and other farm machinery. Ultimately, however, Orone's greed leads him to place too much strain on his stone uncle, and it becomes necessary to call in a mason to mend him. Soon public indignation threatens to run Orone out of the county, but Hiram's corpse, temporarily unattached to the mill, begins to revolve and disappears out of sight.

Another of the *Beltzville Tales* is equally fantastic. A mixture of grotesque humor and rural common sense, "Clorilla Minch and her

Lovers" (February 25, 1910) describes a woman who is becoming an old maid due to her "ice cold feet." A series of suitors appear, each with his own solution to the problem of her abnormally cold feet.

Butler achieves his best writing when dealing with the struggling immigrant or country bumpkin and in detailing his conflicts with urban society. In "Fleas Will be Fleas" we see Mike Flannery outsmarting the Professor of Fleas, a sophisticated Frenchman who attempts to charge Flannery for "flea-slaughter" of his hundred "educated fleas" (the professor is a failed side-show artist turned con-man). Flannery outwits the professor by threatening to have him arrested for importing "valuable" fleas without a tariff on them. Another tale from *Pups and Pigs* (1927) turns on the problem of literacy and education for the immigrant. After a New York architect recommends two gondolas for the new city park, Mike Toole is appointed by Mayor Dugan of Jeffersonville to purchase the "dongolas." Rather than admit that he doesn't know what a "dongola" is Toole announces it is a species of goat: " 'Donnegoras was what we called them in th' ould country—donnegoras from Donnegal.' "[10] The bulk of the story deals with Toole's attempts to teach the goats to swim. Finally, the goats are drowned after Toole soaks them overnight by staking them in the lake. This folly, along with criticism of the "unnecessary park" from the reform party, leads to the ejection of the mayor and his cronies from office.

Butler continued to write and publish stories involving rural settings until the year of his death, yet a significant shift in mood is evident as one reads the work before and after 1915. The earlier stories are more folkloric in tone, embodying the rural hero in activities which display his shrewd common sense and his forthright sense of values. After 1915 the bulk of his stories, while still descriptive of rural life, are nostalgic in tone, implying the loss of rural culture as a significant alternative to urbanization. The point of view also shifts in Butler's later stories from the attitude of the rural hero observing urban life to the urban community's reaction to the rural outcast. While Butler wrote good fiction during both periods, the exuberance and outlandish humor of his earlier work stands out in such stories as "Pigs is Pigs" (1905), "The Reformation of Uncle Billy" (1899), "Fleas Will Be Fleas" (1907), and "That Pup of Murchison's" (1906). Also evident after 1915 is the transition Butler made to a more self-conscious literary style, by writing humorous pieces such as "Poor Old Ellis Parker Is 50 This Month" *(American Mercury,* 1919) and "What Would the Boys We Were Think of Us Now" *(Saturday Evening Post,* 1922). In these his bent for the humorous essay replaces his early stance as rural storyteller.

Butler modified his treatment of rural subjects considerably after 1915: the brash, awkward but successful bumpkin is replaced by the shy, sentimentalized rural hero or heroine, and the theme is no longer the superiority of rural mores but the rural character as social outcast. In the book *Dorna* (1929), for example, a teenage girl and her father are depicted as surviving by odd jobs and living in abandoned cottages on the outskirts of a wealthy resort society. Although the opening chapters of *Dorna* suggest an upper middle class setting, the central character of the novel emerges as a shy outsider to town life. With her father Rasch Bender, Dorna has arrived in Hillvale, a summer resort community, with her only wish to " 'live in a town and live like folks'." Living in a squatter's shack on the edge of town, Dorna steals away to familiarize herself with polite society; "many times, when the Hillvale girls did not suspect it, Dorna Bender was watching them and listening to them talk."[11] Dorna perceives the differences between herself and the town girls in terms of their clothes, their speech and "the things they did." Eventually, both Dorna and her father are incorporated into the town community, whose polite manners and economic stability are now viewed as superior to the cultural isolation and physical discomforts of rural life. The unsophisticated, democratic rural humor of Butler's early stories has been succeeded by a conformity to respectable, middle class seriousness. In one scene Dorna's father is lectured by Mr. Graydon, an editor who works in New York City: "Camping out is camping out, and I used to enjoy it as much as the next man when I had time for it, but this is something else. This is being poverty-stricken, Bender. It's being miserable. It's living as no respectable American should live."[12] *Dorna* is not highly readable today, but it represents an interesting turnabout in Butler's attitudes, and almost certainly in the attitudes of his fictional audience, which must have outgrown the raw, uncouth, direct humor of his early writing. Of course, there is also an unintended irony to Graydon's speech, which moralistically accuses Bender of not providing adequately for his family, for *Dorna* was published in 1929 on the eve of the Great Depression.

Ellis Parker Butler was in a sense an outsider like Dorna. Coming from the small town of Muscatine, Iowa, relatively uneducated, and with a modest family background, Butler made his way as a writer and editor in New York, climbing from rural obscurity to urban affluence and culture. Butler used his knowledge of rural America, of its traditional attitudes and its insecurity in the face of urbanization and change, as the basis of his own transition to urban status. Looking steadily backwards, Butler continued to adapt his one subject—small-town and rural America—to the changing tastes of the popular audience. Today his stories, in *Pups and Pies,*

Beltzville Tales, The Incubator Baby, and most of all *Pigs is Pigs,* provide a record of popular taste during a period in which it was influenced by the appeal of rural subjects and traditional perspectives.

NOTES

[1]A convenient listing of Butler's books may be found in Frank Paluke, *Iowa Authors* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1968), pp. 19-21. Butler's short stories are listed in F. J. Hannigan, *The Standard Index of Short Stories* 1900-1914 and in volumes of the *Reader's Guide.*

[2]Clarence A. Andrews, *A Literary History of Iowa* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1972), p. 152.

[3]See my article "Folk Humor in the Stories of Ellis Parker Butler," *Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin,* 45 (1979), 79-84. It seems that Butler's work is an attempt to continue the fertile interchange between folklore and popular culture which Richard Dorson notes as particularly important in the work of the Southwestern Humorists and the folk stories employed by Abraham Lincoln. While Dorson is undoubtedly correct in seeing a rift occurring between folklore and popular culture in the period after the Civil War, Butler was among the last to employ the rich vein of rural folklore in his storytelling, a fact that also explains the nostalgic quality of his appeal to a largely urban readership. See Richard Dorson, *American Folklore* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 73.

[4]"Pigs is Pigs," in *Pigs is Pigs and Other Favorites* (1906; Rpt. New York: Dover, 1966), pp. 12-13 Further references in the text are to this edition.

[5]*Philo Gubb, Correspondence School Detective* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918), p. 25.

[6]*The Incubator Baby* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906), p. 46. Further references to the text are to this edition.

[7]"The Behind Legs of the 'orse," in *The Behind Legs of the 'orse and Other Stories* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927), p. 20.

[8]"Silent Joe of Fire Island Beach," in *The Behind Legs of the 'orse,* p. 153.

[9]*Kilo* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1907), p. 45.

[10]*Pups and Pies* (New York: Doubleday, 1927), p. 204. This is a volume of Butler's earlier stories, previously uncollected.

[11]*Dorna, or The Hillvale Affair* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), p. 46.

[12]Ibid., p. 144.

LANGUAGE VARIATION IN THE MILITARY TRACT

Timothy Frazer

A traveler through the small towns and villages of the Military Tract will often notice the changing language patterns as he moves from place to place. People in the Military Tract certainly do not talk the way they do in Chicago. But, even more surprising, people in one Military Tract town do not even necessarily talk like those in another, though the distance may amount to no more than an hour's drive. An experience like this is merely an informal observation of the Military Tract's cultural geography, itself a result of the diverse settlement history of the area. Different parts of the Military Tract attracted settlers from different parts of the United States (as well as Europe, though European culture will not be considered in this article), so that one county may reveal a strong New York State influence, another Kentucky, and almost all some influence from Pennsylvania and Ohio. And from these diverse places, the pioneers brought a diverse language. This essay reviews the settlement patterns of the Military Tract and their relationship to some abundantly documented spatial patterns of language variation.

Cultural geographers of all disciplinary stripes readily agree that the human landscape of the United States is far from uniform; all would further agree that a cultural mapping of the eastern United States requires more than a simple division into "North" and "South." Dialect geographer Hans Kurath,[1] who in turn has provided a model for the work of cultural geographers like Wilbur Zelinsky,[2] divides the eastern United States into three major dialect areas. The North includes New England, New York State, northern New Jersey, and the northern edge of Pennsylvania. The Midland includes most of Pennsylvania and Ohio as well as Appalachia and most of Kentucky and Tennessee. The South includes eastern Virginia and the Carolinas as well as lowland Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. These speech areas are not in themselves monolithic; coastal New England is obviously different from the rest of the North; New York City has its own urban dialect; pockets of Midland

speech appear in northwestern Illinois and southwestern Wisconsin. The Midland, more importantly, is horizontally subdivided: Pennsylvania and regions due west are labelled "North Midland," while Appalachia and Indiana along with Kentucky and Tennessee are called "South Midland" (some cultural geographers prefer the term "Upland South," which will be used hereafter, for the latter region).

Three of these eastern dialect areas or cultural hearths were sources of early migrations to Illinois and the Military Tract. Upland Southerners from Kentucky, western Virginia, Tennessee and the Carolinas were the first group to reach Illinois in large numbers, occupying at first the Mississippi and Wabash valleys in the southern one-third of the state after the close of the War of 1812. A Kickapoo Indian cession in 1819 opened the "Sangamo" country, which lies within the present borders of Cass, Scott and Morgan counties; during the decade from 1820 to 1830, the population of the Sangamo region increased from a handful to more than 42,000, well over one-quarter of Illinois' 1830 population. So rapidly did this area fill up that many of the Upland Southerners crossed the Illinois River into the Military Tract, where many of them squatted on the bounty lands. The 1870 census suggests Upland Southern occupation in Pike, Adams, Fulton, Henderson, Warren, Calhoun, Brown, Schuyler, McDonough, and Hancock counties. It appears, moreover, that the heaviest concentration was in the Lamoine Valley counties of Brown, Schuyler, McDonough and Hancock, where Upland Southerners of the first and second generations constituted a majority of the population at least until 1850.[3]

Northern migration began after the 1825 opening of the Erie Canal, connecting interior New York State with the Great Lakes, where steam navigation began in the early 1830's. The conclusion of the Black Hawk War in 1832 quelled fears of hostile Indians and opened northern Illinois and Wisconsin to northern migration. While Northern settlers were scattered everywhere in the Military Tract—especially in towns with promising futures[4]—the heaviest concentration to Northern settlement took place in those counties closest to the Great Lakes migration routes. At the time of the 1870 census, the counties of Henry, Bureau, Stark, Peoria, Warren, and Knox, for example, showed the heaviest concentrations of New Yorkers. To some extent, the adage appears true that Yankee and Southerner avoided one another and did not settle in the same place:[5] the counties in 1870 which had the lowest proportional population of New Yorkers were Brown and Schuyler, both Upland Southern counties.

The remainder of the American population of the Military Tract came from older parts of Illinois and what Kurath calls the "North Midland" region, a Pennsylvania culture and language area which by

1830 included much of Ohio as well. As the population of these two states grew and land became less available, a new wave migration began to reach Illinois, first by way of the Ohio River, later by direct overland routes like the National Road. The 1870 census reveals a heavy concentration of Pennsylvanians and Ohioans spread across central Illinois including every county of the Military Tract. Those counties in which a predominantly Pennsylvania/Ohio population mixed with a relatively small number of Upland Southerners or Northerners included Mercer, Fulton, Adams, Pike, and Calhoun.

Obviously, the settlement history of the Military Tract reflects a considerable geographical diversity. And this diverse settlement history has resulted in a variety of language forms, some of which set parts of the Military Tract off against each other. This language variation occurs in three types of phenomena: place name selection, folk vocabulary, and pronunciation.

No comprehensive systematic survey of past or present place names in Illinois has yet appeared, although several studies are in various stages of planning or completion.[6] Still, even a survey of surviving place names on present day maps indicates distinctive regional influences in different parts of the Military Tract. In the northern counties are clustered a number of place names reflecting obvious northeastern origins. Mercer County settlers borrowed *New Boston* from Massachusetts; *New Windsor* in the same county has a counterpart and probable source in New York state. Henry County has *Geneseo* from New York and *Cambridge* from Massachusetts, which also lent *Neponset* and *New Bedford* to towns in Bureau County. Two more New York names appear a little farther south, *Elmira* in Stark County and *Oneida* in northern Knox. (Further investigation is probably necessary before *Little York,* in northern Warren County, can be attributed to New York settlers as well.) Southern place names begin in southern Knox County, where *Abingdon* has counterparts in both Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania. *Tennessee* appears in McDonough County; the same state also has a *Dixon Springs* whose name now graces Brown County's state park. North Carolina apparently contributed *Mt. Sterling* to the seat of Brown County and *Nebo* to Pike. Possible Kentucky origins may be attributed to Schuyler County's *Pleasant View* and Calhoun County's *Hardin.*

An exception to this pattern is a cluster of northeastern place names which appears in the extreme southwestern Military Tract. Here we find *Marblehead* (Massachusetts), *Kinderhood* and *Rockport* (New York). Since all three of these towns lie within a few miles of the Mississippi, it is probable that they reflect a pocket of Yankee settlement attracted by the commercial possibilities of river trade; the early population of Quincy, after all, has been discovered to be

more than one-half Northern, unlike the inland townships to the east.[7] Two more Northern place names appearing in the southern Military Tract appear to be due to the entrepreneurial preeminence of the Yankees. *Plymouth,* in Hancock County, was named by its founder who hailed from Connecticut; *Vermont,* in southwestern Fulton County, was named, as one account has it, by a Vermonter who purchased the right to name the town from the local Kentuckians for a jug of whiskey.[8]

Folk vocabulary persists in those areas of daily life unaffected by mass commercial culture and mass education; obviously, the stronger the latter social forces become in a region, the greater the erosion of folk vocabulary. An excellent example of the fate of many items of folk vocabulary is provided by the various regional terms for what is now marketed everywhere as *cottage cheese.* A few generations ago, rural families produced this staple at home by straining sour milk through a cheese cloth or other porous filter. While home manufacture persisted, a variety of regional names developed: *curd cheese* in Maine and New Hampshire; *sour-milk cheese* in coastal New England; *clabber cheese* in parts of Appalachia. In the Hudson Valley of New York State, *pot cheese* derived from Dutch *pot kees.* Two regional terms were carried westward into the Middle West. *Dutch cheese* became widely used in New York state and spread westward to Michigan, Wisconsin, and the northern counties of Illinois and Ohio. From German *schmierkas* Pennsylvania adapted *smear case,* which spread southward through the Shenandoah Valley and westward across central Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.[9] (As I grew up in Whiteside County, Illinois—settled heavily by both Pennsylvanians and New York staters—I was aware of both usages: my paternal grandfather, who came to Illinois from Pennsylvania during the 1870s, called it *smearcase* even though he bought it from the dairy, while a maternal aunt called it *Dutch cheese.* I have met no one of my generation who uses either of these terms—everyone now buys *cottage cheese* at the supermarket).

We have abundant data on the folk vocabulary of the Military Tract, where fieldworkers for the Linguistic Atlas of the North Central States and related projects conducted a number of face-to-face field interviews over a quarter of a century. Preliminary interviews were conducted in 1939 by Harold Allen, who visited Henderson, Knox, Henry, and Calhoun counties. During the decade after World War II, Raven McDavid continued fieldwork in Hancock, McDonough, and Brown counties, with two more interviews in Calhoun. Roger Shuy finished fieldwork during the early 1960's in all of the remaining counties of the Military Tract except Pike and Adams. The Atlas field interviews are supplemented by 115 multiple choice questionnaires which were sent to pre-selected

Military Tract residents by Shuy and by Helen Carlson, who taught linguistics courses at Western Illinois University from 1960 to 1965.[10] An additional set of interviews in the Military Tract was conducted for the *Dictionary of American Regional English* between 1967 and 1970.

Part of the Military Tract's folk vocabulary is uniform throughout the area. The terms on this first list appear as well in the rest of central Illinois; most of them can also be traced eastward through Indiana to Ohio and Pennsylvania. These same items show a contrast between the Military Tract and northern Illinois: *bucket,* for example, is the usual term for a metal implement used to carry milk or water. North of Interstate 80, more or less, the most common term is *pail.* Asked to supply the missing word in "he threw a _____ at the dog" (the usual way the Atlas fieldworkers elicited this response), most Military Tract informants answered *rock;* north of the Military Tract, especially in the Rock River Valley, the most common response was *stone.* What is usually called a hard road in the Military Tract is called a *pavement, paved road* or *cement road* in northern Illinois. Fifteen minutes before the hour is generally given as *quarter to* or *quarter of* in northern Illinois, while *quarter till* is heard most frequently in the Military Tract. Most people in the Military Tract have *snakefeeder* as a folk term for the dragonfly, while *snake doctor* or Northern *(devil's) darning needle* are more frequent in northern Illinois. Cows in the Military Tract are called from the pasture with some form of *sook! (sookie, sook-cow),* while northern Illinois cows are called with *boss! (co-boss, co-bossie!).*

A larger number of words in the folk vocabulary, however, show a regional contrast within the Military Tract. These terms generally define the northeastern counties as one speech area and the southwestern ones as another. Northern words appear most frequently in Mercer, Henry, Bureau, Knox, Stark, and Peoria counties; Southern words appear most often in Henderson, Hancock, McDonough, Schuyler, Brown, Pike, and Calhoun counties. Warren, Fulton and Adams counties appear as transition areas, where either Northern or Southern words might appear.

This regional contrast within the Military Tract is well illustrated, as Figure 1 shows, by the terms *bard yard* and *barn lot,* both referring to the fenced area around a barn where animals are penned. New England and New York State adapted *barn yard,* which also spread southward into Pennsylvania. *Barn lot,* on the other hand, became the most common term in the Upland South. In Illinois' Military Tract, *barn yard* became established usage in Mercer, Henry, Bureau, Warren, Knox, Stark, Fulton, and Peoria counties, north of the solid line or "isogloss" on the map *(Fig. 1),* while *barn lot* was

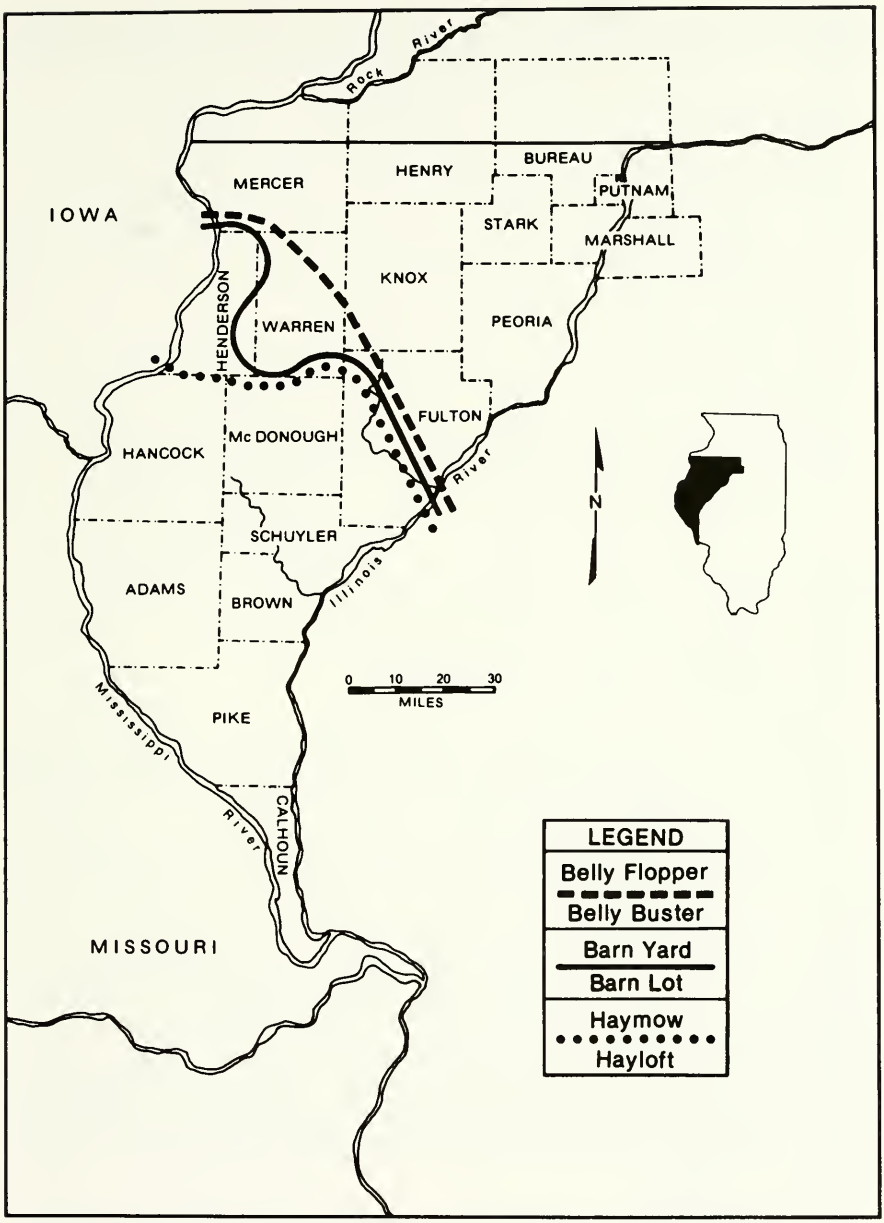


Figure 1. Distribution of three regional word pairs in the Illinois Military Tract.

preferred in Henderson, Hancock, McDonough, Schuyler, Brown, Adams, Pike, and Calhoun counties, south of the solid isogloss. (Now, of course, one suspects few farmers of my generation would know either of these terms, since the decline of diversified farming has led some to abandon livestock farming altogether, while agribusiness appears to have propagated *feedlot*—a word reflecting somewhat different practices of raising livestock—as a replacement for both regionalisms.) An almost identical distribution—also shown on the map—is found for the folk words describing the act of coasting belly-down and head first on a sled. *Belly-flop(er)* is the folk term which existed along with a number of others in the North, especially in western New England and on Delaware Bay; *belly-buster* on those parts of the Upland South where snow was common. In the Military Tract *belly-flopper* (north of the broken isogloss on the map) was common in Mercer, Bureau, Knox, Stark, Peoria, and Fulton counties; *belly-buster* (south of the broken isogloss) was given in Henderson, Warren, McDonough, Hancock, Pike, and Calhoun counties. No response to this question was given by the lone Schuyler County informant, while both terms appeared in Brown County. (Curiously, contemporary children no longer use either of these terms for sledding, though I have heard *belly-flopper* used to describe a flat dive into water.)

Another term confined to informants with some experience in farm life is that used to denote the upper part of a barn where hay is stored. The Upland Southern term is *hay loft,* contrasting with Northern *hay mow. Hay mow* also became predominant in Pennsylvania (where it replaced Pennsylvania German *overden).* In the Military Tract, the dotted isogloss on the map shows that *hay mow* was preferred in Mercer, Henry, Bureau, Stark, Henderson, Warren, Knox, and Fulton counties, while *hay loft* was preferred in McDonough, Schuyler, Brown, Pike, and Calhoun counties. Both terms appeared in Hancock and Adams counties. Another set of contrasting agricultural terms describe the leafy outer covering on an ear of corn. Northern *husks* appears in Mercer, Henry Bureau, Stark, Peoria, and Knox counties; southern *shucks* is preferred in Henderson, Warren, Hancock, McDonough, Fulton, Adams, Schuyler, Brown and Calhoun counties. This distribution is similar to that of the terms shown on the map.

A number of Southern terms which have no contrasting Northern counterparts turned up on the Linguistic Atlas and Dictionary surveys as well. *Branch,* a Southern word for a small stream (generally called a *creek* in the Middle West) turned up in Henderson, Hancock, McDonough, Adams, Schuyler, Brown, Pike, and Calhoun counties. While *creek* and *river* are the terms used in naming most such streams everywhere in the Military Tract, *branch* appears in

southwestern McDonough and southeastern Hancock counties on the U.S. Geodesic Survey maps. Another southernism is *pulleybone,* for what is now generally called the *wishbone* in a chicken or turkey. *Pulleybone* appeared in McDonough, Schuyler, and Brown counties. *Goober,* a southernism for the peanut, appeared in Brown, Hancock, and Adams counties; the same name is also known by a recent student of mine who grew up in the vicinity of Beardstown. Still another southernism is *pallet,* which names a bed made up on the floor. *Pallet* appeared in Henderson, Warren, McDonough, Hancock, Adams, and Schuyler counties. Some other southernisms appearing only sporadically in the southern counties of the Military Tract were obviously archaic even at the time of the earlier Linguistic Atlas interviews. *Light bread* (for homemade bread from white flour) appeared in Hancock and McDonough counties; *hoe cake* was remembered only by informants in Bushnell and Nauvoo; *corn dodger* appeared only in Brown county. Informants in Brown, Schuyler, and Henderson counties recalled the (now largely) Appalachian term for a mid-wife, *granny woman.*

The Linguistic Atlas and similar surveys generally represent the usage of a largely rural population born around the turn of the century or earlier. It should therefore not be surprising that few of these words are used by the generation of Military Tract residents now entering early middle age. Nevertheless, the lexicon of an older, passing population indicated a clear regional contrast between the Military Tract and northern Illinois, and between sections of the Military Tract itself. The patterns indicated by variation in folk vocabulary, moreover, should be reflected in patterns of pronunciation which are not subject to the eroding forces which affect folk vocabulary.

Variations in pronunciation are the most frequently noticed language features in the Military Tract. Military Tract visitors frequently remark an intrusive *"r"* in *wash* (hence, "warsh"), but this feature—originating in western Pennsylvania—is widespread not only in the Military Tract but throughout all of central and western Illinois (and is probably more common in rural areas). Similarly, a tendency to raise certain vowels in presibilant position—so that "fish" is heard as "feesh"—serves to link the western Illinois speech to that of the Ohio Valley.

The pronunciations which best represent the Military Tract's settlement geography are six Upland Southern features which were found during analysis of tape recorded interviews conducted for the *Dictionary of American Regional English* (D.A.R.E. informants were located in Peoria, Galva, Nauvoo, Carthage, Quincy and Hardin, with another in Macomb added after the original survey). The analyses showed that these Upland Southern pronunciations occur in the

southwestern counties of the Military Tract—more or less the same counties in which we find *belly buster, barn lot, hayloft, branch* and other Southern terms—showing the pronunciation of many people in those counties to bear some resemblance to pronunciations heard in Kentucky, southern Indiana, southern Illinois and Missouri.

The first of these pronunciation features is the "fronted vowel" in words like *scouts, ground, downtown,* and *cow.* All of these words are pronounced with a dipthong, but in northern cities the first vowel of the dipthong is that heard in the ejaculation "ah" or in the noun *cot;* in much of the Upland South this first vowel is that heard in *cat*—the same pronunciation heard in the southwestern Military Tract.

The second feature occurs in the pronunciation of *due* and *Tuesday.* In the northern Midwest these words have a pure back vowel, pronounced with the lips fully rounded. But in the South, and again in the southwestern Military Tract, the vowel in these words is diphthongized like that in *pew.*

The third feature occurs in so-called "long *i*" words like *time.* In southern speech, the second element of the diphthong in *time* is relaxed or eliminated altogether, so that to northern ears *time* and *Tom* sound like rhymes. Though this feature occurs less frequently than in the southern states, it is nevertheless heard occasionally in the southwestern counties of the Military Tract, especially in the communities of the Lamoine Valley. (Among D.A.R.E. informants, this turned up only in Macomb; other investigation suggests that this feature might be less frequent in communities west and south of the Lamoine Valley).

Parts of the Upland South also treat the vowel of *cough* and *log* differently than does the northern Midwest, using either a "long *o*" sound like that in *oaf* or *rogue* or a diphthong like that in *how.* This pronunciation also occurs in the southwestern Military Tract.

The last two Upland Southern features are quite similar and may be treated together. The pronunciation for *him* and *them* involves elongation and breaking almost into two syllaables, so that *him* is a near rhyme with *see 'um* and *them* with *say 'em.* This pronunciation is common in the southwestern Military Tract. (Phonetic transcriptions, for readers familiar with that notation, appear at the end of this article.[11])

The persistence of at least one of these Upland Southern pronunciation patterns is all the more remarkable when we consider their opposition by the linguistic establishment. A school textbook in 1840 derided the Upland Southern pronunciation of words like *ground* as having a "flat sound," which was "unspeakably worse" than any alternative, while an 1843 reader condemned the same usage as "error."[12] By the time radio became an established medium

in the 1930's, the fronted vowel was all but banned from broadcast speech, even among speakers of Southern origins.[13] Yet, in a recent analysis of the speech of thirty-nine Lamoine Valley residents, this "nonstandard" pronunciation was shown to be increasing; it was about twice as frequent in the speech of adults under the age of 55 than in those older than 55, and appeared more frequently in the speech of women than in that of men.[14]

These linguistic data, then, indicate several patterns in the linguistic geography of the Military Tract. First, a number of words from Pennsylvania and Ohio set off the Military Tract, along with the rest of central Illinois, from the northern part of the state. A second pattern is illustrated best by the map, which displays a northern section of the Military Tract including Mercer, Knox, Bureau, Stark, Henry, and Peoria counties; a southern section including Hancock, McDonough, Schuyler, Brown, Adams, Pike, and Calhoun counties; and a mixed-usage border section including Henderson, Warren, and Fulton counties. The northern section is marked not only by the use of *hay mow, barn yard,* and *belly-flopper* as they appear on the map, but also by the use of Northern *husks,* by several Northern place names and by a distinct absence of Upland Southern pronunciation. The southern section is distinguished by the mapped words *hay loft, barn lot,* and *belly-buster,* as well as other Southernisms which, though unmapped, show a similar distribution: *shucks, pallet,* and *branch.* On the other hand, still other linguistic variables show the southern section to be far from uniform. The strongest Southern influence is found in the counties which border the Lamoine Valley, where we find the most consistent appearance of Upland Southern pronunciation features as well as occational Southern words like *pullybone, goober, light bread,* and *corn dodger.* West and southwest of the Lamoine Valley, a Northern influence reasserts itself in the appearance of more Northern place names and fewer Upland Southern pronunciation features.

NOTES

[1]Hans Kurath, *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1949), pp. 1-80. Pronunciation and lexical boundaries are shown to coincide in Hans Kurath and Raven I McDavid, Jr., *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1961).

[2]Wilbur Zelinsky, "Where the South Begins: The Northern Limit of the Cis-Appalachian South in Terms of Settlement Landscape," *Social Forces,* 30 (1951), 172-78.

[3]The Upland Southern element in McDonough County, at least, can be clearly established. In a sample from the 1850 census, about 50 percent of the adult heads of households originated in Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia or the Carolinas; another 4 percent came from Delaware or Maryland. Only about a quarter of the sample came from Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York or New England. The remainder were foreign-born or came from other parts of Illinois, which at that time would probably also suggest an Upland Southern origin. Of 158 "old settlers" still living in the county in 1878, seventy-five (or almost one-half) were from

Kentucky, while thirty-nine others were from Virginia, Tennessee, or the Carolinas; several others originated in southern Illinois and Indiana. Only twenty were from Pennsylvania or Ohio, and six from New York or New England. This list is from S. J. Clarke, *History of McDonough County, Illinois* (Springfield, Ill.: D. W. Lust, 1878), pp. 594-601.

[4]There seems little reason to question the notion that true "Yankees," New Englanders and New Yorkers, were more likely to settle in towns rather than in rural areas. Of the six Northerners listed among Clarke's old settlers, a Massachusetts native, two New Hampshirites and a New Yorker lived in Macomb; one other New Yorker lived in Bushnell. In Sangamon County in 1850, Southerners made up 57 percent of the rural population, but only 30 percent of the adult population of Springfield. On the other hand, "Yankees" made up 9 percent of the rural adult population, but 17 percent of the adult population of Springfield. Richard Jensen tells me of finding the same tendencies elsewhere in downstate Illinois—Southerners more numerous in rural areas, Yankees in the cities and towns.

[5]Richard Lyle Power, *Planting Corn Belt Culture* (Indianpolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1953), p. 174. See also Clarke, p. 51, for an attempt to gloss over these differences.

[6]Members of the Archives staff at Western Illinois University are planning a detailed place-name survey of the Military Tract. The Illinois Place Names Commission has discussed plans for an Illinois place name survey for a number of years. A study of Fulton county names by Betty J. Irwin is forthcoming.

[7]William Vipond Pooley, "The Settlement of Illinois from 1830 to 1850," *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin* (1908), pp. 4, 405.

[8]Pooley, p. 402.

[9]Kurath, *Word Geography,* figure 125.

[10]Originals of the mailed questionnaires and microfilms of the Linguistic Atlas field records for Illinois are housed in the Department of English, Western Illinois University, pending further disposition.

[11]The South Midland pronunciations of *ground, due, time, cough, him* and *them* appear as follows in the International Phonetic Alphabet (authority for the regional identification of these pronunciations is Kurath and McDavid): [græund] [diu] [taəm] [kouf] [hiəm] [ðeəm]

[12]Samuel Williard, *The General Class Book* (Greenfield, Mass., 1840), p. 15. William Russell, *Primary Reader* (Boston, 1843), p. 32.

[13]Jane Dorsey Zimmerman, *Radio Pronunciations* New York: King's Crown Press, 1946), pp. 96-97.

[14]Details of this study in Timothy C. Frazer, "The Uncertain Progress of a Midwestern Diphthong (/au/)," read to American Dialect Society-Midwest meeting, November, 1980. Copy in Western Illinois University Library.

FOREIGN OWNERSHIP OF FARMLAND IN WESTERN ILLINOIS

Frank W. Goudy

During the past several years, concerns have been expressed about the reports of increased foreign investment in U.S. farmland. These concerns have centered on the possible consequences of continued foreign investment, including: the consolidation of American farms into larger holdings accompanied by a decrease in the number of family farms; mismanagement of land resources by distant owners; and the potential of foreign control over essential elements of the domestic agricultural economy.

Another major issue that has been raised by farm groups is that foreign purchasers, aided by inflation, certain tax advantages, and other factors, are able and willing to buy U.S. agricultural land at price levels farmers cannot afford to pay. This view holds that foreign nationals are bidding up the price of agricultural land beyond the reach of local farmers who must make a reasonable profit on their labor and investment rather than using land as a speculative hedge or as a safety valve against international political instability.

Certainly, there have been few investment opportunities in the 1970's both as lucrative and safe as U.S. farmland. For example, during the years from 1970 through 1979 Illinois farmland prices increased by 312 percent,[1] while the consumer price index rose eighty-seven percent,[2] and the Standard & Poor's Common Index (500 stocks) increased by only twenty-five percent.[3]

This research will briefly consider the historical context of foreign investment in U.S. agricultural land as well as provide the legislative background that led to the passage of The Agricultural Foreign Investment Disclosure Act of 1978 (P.L. 95-460) which requires alien landowners to report their holdings to the federal government. Particular attention will be focused upon the foreign ownership of agricultural land in a twenty-nine-county region comprising western Illinois.

FOREIGN OWNERSHIP OF U.S. FARMLAND; A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Throughout our nation's history the pattern of alien landholding and the government's policy response have varied considerably. During the colonial period, the mercantilistic practices of the British effectively restricted the inflow of foreign capital. However, immediately following the Revolution the new nation, under the leadership of Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, pursued a policy which encouraged investment by aliens. This policy even permitted British investments. The effectiveness of these and subsequent policies is demonstrated by the fact that throughout the nineteenth century the inflow of foreign capital increased rapidly, with a large part of this increase going into land investments. One estimate for the years prior to World War I was that foreign individuals and companies were in control of some 30 to 35 million acres in the U.S. although there was no precise count and evidence suggests that this estimate was exaggerated.[4]

During the last half of the nineteenth century, foreign investors were attracted to such land related investments as cattle ranches, mortgage companies, and land-grant railroads. Although foreign holdings were not of significant concern on a nationwide basis, they were important and conspicuous in some localities and regions and thus attracted strong resentment on the part of local citizens in a number of states. During the last fifteen years of the century, opposition to such foreign investments in land led thirteen states, including Illinois, to legislate restrictions on foreign ownership. Congress also acted in 1887 to limit ownership of land in the U.S. territories to citizens. With the exception of California farmers attempting to restrict land ownership by Orientals in their state and the rest of the nation, interest in alien land investment waned in the first half of this century as did the interest in restrictions.[5]

However, renewed interest in foreign ownership of land appeared again in the 1970's when large blocks of farmland were reported as being purchased by alien investors. A cheaper U.S. dollar, large amounts of liquid capital from OPEC nations, and the relative stability of this country have drawn these investors. Although the historical significance of the apparent recent increases in land investment by aliens is difficult to assess at this time, it is useful to compare what is occurring now with the past. During the nineteenth century, foreign investment in industry, transportation, and real estate played an important role in the development of a capital starved America. The question today is whether foreign investment in this nation's agricultural land serves a productive function as it often did in the past, or whether it is merely speculation that is counter productive to the economic and social fabric of the country.

In order to even begin to answer this question, it is imperative to know the actual amount of farmland held by foreign individuals or corporations. This necessary information led to the enactment of the Agricultural Foreign Investment Disclosure Act of 1978.

THE AGRICULTURAL FOREIGN INVESTMENT DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1978

Questions regarding the degree of foreign ownership of U.S. farmland led the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry to request that the General Accounting Office (GAO) conduct a study of this matter. In the Spring of 1978, the GAO study team requested information from the Governor of each state on existing laws affecting alien land ownership. The GAO researchers then visited six states to consult with agriculturalists and review state records and interviewed local officials in twenty-five counties to examine local records as potential data sources. The GAO determined that as of May 1978, twenty-five states had laws placing some restriction on alien farmland ownership. It was also concluded by the GAO that many of these laws were not enforced and that in aggregate the state laws did not significantly inhibit foreign purchases of agricultural property.[6]

The GAO study found that few states had data on alien land ownership and only two (Iowa and Minnesota) required nonresident aliens to file annual reports on their holdings.[7] Not only were county records usually nonexistent about such possessions, there was the possibility of aliens hiding behind corporate identities or land trusts. After visiting twenty-five counties in five states, the GAO concluded that records at the state and county levels were insufficient for determining the actual extent of alien farmland holdings. As a result of these problems, the GAO made only one specific recommendation. It was proposed that the Department of Commerce separately identify alien firms and individuals owning or leasing 200 acres or more of U.S. farmland.[8]

It had become increasingly evident that national legislation would be needed to determine and monitor the magnitude of this perceived problem. The Extension Services study conducted during the Fall of 1978, and released subsequent to the passage of The Agricultural Foreign Investment Disclosure Act of 1978, estimated that 737,423 acres had been sold to foreign nationals during the time period from January 1, 1977 through June 30, 1978. However, there was much unevenness in the reporting systems used by each State Extension Service, thus making the data more reflective than specifically accurate. Based upon this report, approximately 2.25 percent of all U.S. land sales were to foreigners during this time frame.[9]

In order to secure more precise data and information on this subject, a number of legislative proposals were introduced in the 95th Congress. These bills often included three basic approaches: completion of planned studies or provision for additional research; registration of foreign land owners; and outright restrictions on foreign ownership of agricultural property. One of these bills, The Agricultural Foreign Investment Disclosure Act of 1978 (P.S. 95-460) was adopted. The original bill (HR 13356) was reported out of committee on September 14, approved by the full House on September 26, and by the Senate on October 2. The measure was then signed by President Carter on October 14, 1978. The ease with which the bill was made into law was due to its bipartisan support by conservatives, as represented by Herman Talmadge of Georgia, Chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, and liberals, such as Representative Richard Nolan from Minnesota who served on the House Agriculture Subcommittee on Family Farms. The intense feelings on this issue assured its easy passage even though President Carter was less than enthusiastic about a law that would be viewed negatively by many political groups and investors in the international community.[10]

The AFIDA of 1978 requires foreign individuals or corporations owning at least five percent or more interest, except a security interest, in agricultural land to report that interest and related data to the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture within 180 days after regulations were completed. The report includes the following: name; address; citizenship of owner; location; acreage; price paid; intended use of land; and other information as requested. It also mandates that foreign nationals who acquire or transfer U.S. agricultural land in the future to submit a report within ninety days after the transaction. Civil penalties can be levied against those who violate any reporting requirements in an amount up to twenty-five percent of the fair market value of the property. In addition, the Department of Agriculture is required to analyze information obtained from these reports and examine the effect such investment might have on U.S. agriculture in general as well as the impact on family farms and rural communities.[11] Operationally, this data is being forwarded to USDA officials in all of the over 3,000 counties in the nation and then sent to USDA's Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) office. Passage of this legislation has allowed a more thorough examination of alien land purchases throughout the nation including individual counties within a state.

A similar law, alto titled The Agricultural Foreign Investment Disclosure Act (PA 81-187), was passed by the Illinois General Assembly in August 1979. It mandates the same procedures as does the federal AFDIA of 1978 and even requires reporting forms identi-

cal to that of the USDA. Illinois law requires that such reports be filed with the Illinois Department of Agriculture.

FOREIGN OWNERSHIP OF FARMLAND IN WESTERN ILLINOIS

Legislative Overview

Accounts of large scale land purchases by aliens did not go unnoticed in Illinois. Rumors of such acquisitions were often heard by farmers and other concerned citizens throughout the state. The 1976 purchase of the 11,813 acre Norris Farms in Fulton County by the wealthy Italian Buitoni family for a reported $18 million was often cited as evidence of this increasing trend.[12] In addition, the 23,017 acre Meadowlark Farms near Vermont, Illinois in Fulton County was discovered to be partially owned by a British consortium. Although much of this land was being used for coal mining operations, approximately 5,500 acres was utilized for agricultural purposes.

Interestingly, an 1897 Illinois law still in effect limits alien land ownership of any real estate to a period of six years, after which, if the alien has not become a U.S. citizen, the county states attorney can compel the sale of the land.[13] However, this law has not been strictly enforced, and it can easily be circumvented by establishing land trusts that allow such property to be held virtually indefinitely. In order to effectively limit future purchases of farmland by foreigners, the Illinois General Assembly has proposed a number of bills. For instance, the 1981 General Assembly saw two bills sponsored that would have provided for certain limitations although neither proposal was passed.

House Bill 628 and Senate Bill 387 both include provisions that would have restricted the ability of foreign interests to acquire an interest in agricultural land in Illinois after January 1, 1982. The two bills differ in specifics with their intent being basically the same. Harlan Rigney (R) of the 35th Legislative District first introduced HB 628 on March 19, 1981, and it was supported by twenty-two other co-sponsors, including Clarence Neff (R) and Samuel McGrew (D) of the 47th District and Craig Findley (R) and Jeffrey Mays (R) of the 48th District. Both the 47th and 48th Legislative Districts comprise a large portion of Western Illinois.

Essentially, HB 628 provided that after January 1, 1982 no non-resident alien could acquire any interest in real property used for farming in Illinois, and if any non-resident alien held or acquired land by January 1, 1981, they could not expand the number of acres farmed or held or acquired after that date. After January 1, 1982 a non-resident alien could not secure an interest of more than ten percent in any corporation, partnership, or trust which held or

had any interest in real property used for farming. No corporation, partnership, or trust in which a non-resident alien held more than ten percent interest could acquire real property used for farming in Illinois. Real property which had been used for farming could have been bought by a non-resident alien for purposes other than farming; however, nonfarming use would have to be commenced or platted or zoned for development within three years of acquisition or the alien would be required to divest the property before the expiration of the three-year period. If the real property was not divested before the three year period, the states attorney of the county in which the land was located could have compelled a sale, of which twenty percent of the bid amount would have been taxed for court costs.[14]

Although neither bill was passed in the 1981 Illinois General Assembly, interest in such legislation continues. The question remains as to what extent foreign nationals actually own farmland in the state and in western Illinois in particular.

Findings

After a brief introduction providing selected national data on the extent of foreign ownership of U.S. agricultural land, this research focuses upon a twenty-nine county area in western Illinois, including the following counties: Adams; Brown; Bureau; Calhoun; Cass; Fulton; Greene; Hancock; Henderson; Henry; Jersey; Knox; Macoupin; Marshall; Mason; McDonough; Menard; Mercer; Morgan; Peoria; Pike; Putnam; Rock Island; Sangamon; Schuyler; Scott; Stark; Tazewell; and Warren. *(See Figure 1.)*

In addition, the entire state of Illinois will also be considered. The data necessary to conduct this research was obtained by analyzing report forms that foreigners filed with the Illinois Department of Agriculture as well as reviewing information already compiled by that office. A release form required that a researcher not divulge the names of individual companies or persons when reporting this information. Thus, specific names of foreign nationals owning agricultural land will not be included in this investigation unless already mentioned in other sources.

Throughout the nation, foreign entities and individuals were revealed to have owned 7.82 million acres, or 0.6 percent, of U.S. agricultural land as of December 31, 1980. Information derived from 11,872 forms indicated that corporations owned eighty-one percent of the holdings, partnerships ten percent, and individuals eight percent, with the remaining one percent held by estates, trusts, associations, and institutions.[15]

Canadian, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the Netherland Antilles, the United Kingdom, and West German interests accounted for

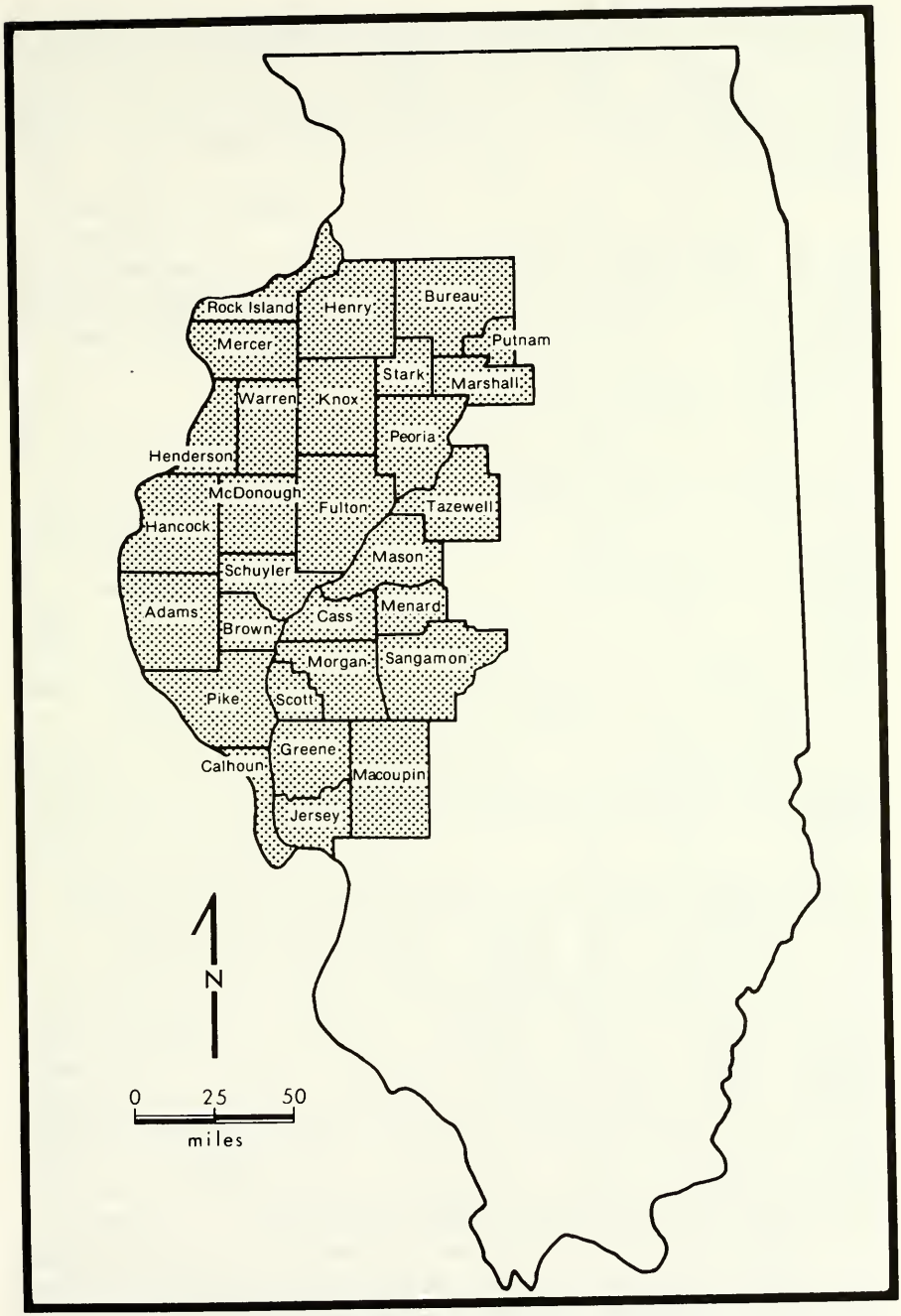


Figure 1. Western Illinois Counties.

seventy-six percent of these holdings and acquisitions. A number of the forms indicated only partial ownership. When the total holdings were adjusted for these partial interests, the USDA estimated that the acreage equivalent was reduced by thirteen percent from the 7.82 million acres or a decrease of approximately one million acres.[16]

Of this land, 6.66 million acres was reported by February 2, 1979. During the time frame from February 2, 1979 through December 31, 1980, 1.74 million additional acres were purchased and .58 million acres were disposed for a net gain of 1.16 million acres. However, some of this increase during the subsequent filing period was partially due to the inclusion of 1979 reports received after the previous year's cutoff date.[17]

Among the individual states, Maine had the largest amount of foreign owned agricultural land, over 964,000 acres, with ninety-one percent of this property in the possession of one timber company. With the exception of Maine, foreign holdings appeared to be heavily concentrated in the South and the West. Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas reported thirty-two percent of all such ownership. Arizona, California, Colorado, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah collectively recorded twenty-nine percent of the holdings. Rhode Island was the only state in which aliens had not secured farmland.[18]

Table 1 reveals that in Western Illinois foreign owners reported thirty separate tracts of land comprising 47,217 acres. Farmland acreage in these counties totaled 9,034,756 with the result that slightly over 0.5 percent of the available agricultural real estate was held by aliens. This percentage is approximately twenty-five percent higher than the statewide average of 0.4 percent, although it is somewhat lower than the national average of 0.6 percent.[19]

Fulton County contained the largest amount of foreign owned land in the state at 34,990 acres (8.08 percent of the farmland in the county) while 14 other counties in the region did not report any alien holdings. Schuyler County was second in both the state and in western Illinois with 6,225 acres owned by foreign interests. Collectively, these counties accounted for eighty-seven percent of the alien land holdings in western Illinois and thirty-four percent for all of Illinois. Thus, a disproportionate share of foreign holdings were concentrated in two of the 102 counties in the state.

Categorized by type of ownership, corporations were the single most prevalent type of proprietorship. Corporations held seventy-one percent and sixty-seven percent respectively *(See Table 2)* of all foreign owned land in western Illinois and in the entire state. Trusts were the next largest category at twenty-five percent and twenty-two percent respectively, with the remaining interests composed of partnerships and individuals.

Of the land owned by foreign individuals *(See Table 3),* some divergence in property holding patterns between the region and the state are noticed. For instance, German held interests were the greatest in the state, 5,102 acres, with Canadians second at 1,686 acres. The remaining 1,305 acres were owned by persons of five other nations. In western Illinois, no German interests were reported; only Canadian and Swedish ownership of a combined 824 acres was disclosed.

Corporations, trusts, and partnerships constituted by far the most important holdings. However, it is essential to make a distinction between ownership where the foreign control is complete and no U.S. interests are involved and that in which U.S. interests are present. U.S. interests most often occur when a foreign corporation controls a share of an American company. As previously indicated, any foreign individual or corporation owning at least five percent or more interest in agricultural land was required to report that fact. Thus, if a foreign corporation owned five percent or more of an American firm that held farmland, it would be required to file a report with the USDA. However, the exact portion that the foreign national held in an American firm was not a demand of the AFIDA in the 1978 reporting system. Such an interest could be relatively insignificant, or it could be an important factor in the control of the company and, thus, potentially the farmland in question. For instance, of the 47,217 acres owned by aliens in western Illinois, the USDA report forms revealed information that operations involving coal mining as well as agricultural purposes could comprise 30,422 acres of this total. In all cases, the 30,422 acres involved were at least partially owned by U.S. interests.

Non-U.S. interests accounted for 15,072 acres in western Illinois and 30,602 acres statewide *(See Table 4).* The country with easily the most alien landholdings for both the region and the state was the Netherland Antilles with seventy-eight percent and sixty-one percent respectively. In western Illinois, interests reported through the Cayman Islands were another ten percent of the foreign held acreage with the remaining land divided among five other nations. For Illinois as a whole, agricultural real estate reported through Germany accounted for an additional ten percent of the state's foreign land investment with twelve other countries also being included. One may question why the Netherland Antilles and the Cayman Islands would report such relatively large holdings. The answer may lie with their bank secrecy laws. The Cayman Islands, for instance, have been a popular tax haven for moneyed interests from all over the world who seek a more private conduct of their financial affairs.[20]

Most foreign-owned agricultural land was reported by corporations, trusts, and partnerships in which there was a U.S. interest.

An example of this situation is British Petroleum, which has a 6.8 percent interest in Amax, Inc.[21] Meadowlark Farms, Inc., a large owner of farmland in western Illinois and the rest of the state, is a subsidiary of Amax, Inc. As a result of this partial interest in Amax, Inc., British Petroleum is legally required to report to the USDA their ownership of U.S. agricultural land even though British Petroleum does not control the land in their own name.

In western Illinois, three counties reported having an interest in U.S. firms that acquired 31,321 acres or nearly sixty-six percent of all foreign owned land in the region and twenty-six percent of all such land in the state *(See Table 5)*. Statewide, twelve nations held a partial share in some 83,309 acres or sixty-eight percent of foreign held agricultural property in Illinois. English interests were the most extensive for both western Illinois and the state as represented by their holdings of 30,791 acres and 67,443 acres respectively.

Much of the worry over foreign purchases of American farmland occurred in the mid-1970's with rumors of vast investments being made on a nationwide basis. Within Illinois, there is some evidence that alien ownership of land did increase rapidly during the last half of the 1970's. In western Illinois, this research confirms that of the 47,217 acres purchased and still held, 16,378 acres had been acquired from 1975 through 1980. Throughout Illinois, 50,927 acres of the 122,004 foreign owned acres *(See Table 6)* were secured during this same time frame.

These are minimum figures for it is not known to what extent the 30,247 acres in western Illinois and the 64,888 acres statewide not reported as having a specific purchase date were acquired during this six-year period. Unfortunately, USDA-ASCS report forms only requested but did not mandate stating a specific purchase date when land was bought over a number of years. However, it is interesting to consider that in the five-year period from 1970 through 1974 such foreign purchases in western Illinois constituted merely 363 acres and only 2,738 acres for the entire state. During a shorter subsequent time frame from 1975 through 1978, foreign purchases that could definitely be verified by date of acquisition were 15,006 acres and 33,103 acres respectively. The rate of these alien purchases seemingly declined somewhat during 1979 and 1980 in western Illinois to only 1,372 acres. However, the 17,824 acres of new foreign purchases throughout Illinois in 1979 and 1980 indicate that such acquisitions have continued to be strong on a statewide basis.

CONCLUSION

This research confirms that the foreign ownership of U.S. Agricultural land has definitely increased in the past several years. This

is true not only on a national basis but also in Illinois and the western Illinois region as well. Certainly, the 122,004 acres held statewide by foreign corporations, trusts, partnerships, and individuals is not to be ignored. USDA research has confirmed that foreign-owned tracts have been found to be of similar soil quality as that owned by U.S. residents in general.[22] Assuming this equal situation, foreign nationals own in excess of $259 million of land in Illinois, based upon a statewide mean of $2125 per acre.[23]

It is important, however, to place these figures into perspective. First, the 122,004 acres in question are only 0.4 percent of the state's available farmland. The 47,217 acres in western Illinois are only 0.5 percent of that region's agricultural real estate. Second, this amount would undoubtedly be reduced if only the foreign interest in the U.S. companies owning farmland were calculated. This calculation has not been attempted in Illinois and would be a difficult task to accomplish without revealing confidential information.

Nevertheless, it is important to consider the trend of foreign acquisitions. Will they become more pronounced in the future as such purchases increase? Based upon data from the years 1976 through 1978, the USDA concluded that nationally 2.50 percent of all farmland changed hands through voluntary sales and estate settlements, with Illinois being nearly identical to the national average.[24] Out of the 29,730,739 acres of farmland in Illinois, this would mean that approximately 743,000 acres changed ownership annually.[25] Since confirmed foreign purchases of land from 1975 through 1980 averaged 8,488 acres *(See Table 6),* this would provide at most only 1.1 percent of the farmland for sale being bought by aliens in this time period. At this rate it would take about thirty-five years for foreigners to acquire an additional one percent of Illinois farmland.

In western Illinois, the 9,034,756 acres in the region would allow a turnover of 226,000 acres annually at this same rate of farm title transfers. With foreign purchases averaging 2,730 acres *(See Table 6)* through 1980, about 1.2 percent of the existing farmland for sale was purchased by foreign interests during these six years.

A July, 1981 USDA analysis of the impact of foreign agricultural land purchases in the U.S. stated: "In summary, the quantity of foreign owned U.S. agricultural land is so small that it is unlikely to have either a positive or negative overall impact on agriculture. In areas of heaviest concentration, some communities could be affected."[26]

This comment could well apply to western Illinois and the state of Illinois as a whole. While such purchases have increased markedly in the last half of the 1970's, it will take a great deal of time at even these acquisition rates for foreign land tenure to make a strong

impact on the overall ownership of farmland in the state or the western Illinois region. This is not to say, however, that such a situation will not or can not occur. Further research will be essential in monitoring future developments on this sensitive and important issue.

TABLE 1

FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL LANDHOLDING IN WESTERN ILLINOIS DATA THROUGH DECEMBER 1980

County	*Number of Reports*	*Acres Owned By Foreigners*	*Total Farmland Acreage*	*Percent of Farmland Owned By Foreigners*
Adams	1	551	476,538	.12%
Brown	–	–	164,939	–
Bureau	1	10	520,200	negligible
Calhoun	–	–	114,816	–
Cass	1	267	221,689	.12
Fulton	3	34,990	432.571	8.08
Greene	1	209	323,825	.06
Hancock	1	232	463,262	.05
Henderson	–	–	209,072	–
Henry	3	1,468	496,644	.30
Jersey	–	–	201,956	–
Knox	1	99	414,044	.02
Macoupin	5	635	477,938	.13
Marshall	2	460	212,278	.22
Mason	–	–	303,237	–
McDonough	3	1,797	362,471	.50
Menard	–	–	200,207	–
Mercer	–	–	328,721	–
Morgan	–	–	338,144	–
Peoria	2	70	291,613	.02
Pike	–	–	478,081	–
Putman	–	–	91,068	–
Rock Island	–	–	181,792	–
Sangamon	1	94	485,764	.01
Schuyler	3	6,225	238,103	2.61
Scott	–	–	142,979	–
Stark	–	–	179,432	–
Tazewell	–	–	354,110	–
Warren	2	110	329,262	03
Totals	30	47,217	9,034,756	.05%

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural Foreign Investment Disclosure Act Report, ASCS-153,* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office). Unpublished Data.

U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1978 Census of Agriculture, Vol. 1, State and County Date; Part 13, Illinois,* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1980).

TABLE 2

FOREIGN AGRICULTURE LANDHOLDING IN WESTERN ILLINOIS: BY TYPE OF FOREIGN OWNER. DATA THROUGH DECEMBER 1980

	Number of Reports		*Acres*	
Type of Owner	*Western Illinois*	*State of Illinois*	*Western Illinois*	*State of Illinois*
Corporations	20	86	33,573	82,316
Trusts	3	41	12,153	26,982
Partnerships	3	17	667	4,613
Individuals	4	33	824	8,093
Totals	30	177	47,217	122,004

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural Foreign Investment Disclosure Act Report, ASCS-153* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office). Unpublished Data.

Illinois Department of Agriculture, *Foreign Ownership of Illinois Agricultural Land* (Springfield: State of Illinois, 1981).

TABLE 3

AGRICULTURAL LANDHOLDINGS OF INDIVIDUALS, BY COUNTRY OF FOREIGN OWNER. DATA THROUGH DECEMBER 1980

	Number of Reports		*Acres*	
Country	*Western Illinois*	*State of Illinois*	*Western Illinois*	*State of Illinois*
Canada	3	13	747	1,686
Germany	–	14	–	5,102
Sweden	1	2	77	346
United Kingdom	–	1	–	120
Netherlands	–	1	–	615
Denmark	–	1	–	120
Greece	–	1	–	104
Totals	4	33	824	8,093

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Agriculture Foreign Investment Disclosure Act Report, ASCS-153* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office). Unpublished Data.

Illinois Department of Agriculture, *Foreign Ownership of Illinois Agricultural Land* (Springfield: State of Illinois, 1981).

TABLE 4
AGRICULTURAL LANDHOLDINGS OF CORPORATIONS, TRUSTS, AND PARTNERSHIPS, BY COUNTRY OF FOREIGN OWNER: NON-U.S. INTEREST. DATA THROUGH DECEMBER 1980

	Number of Reports		*Acres*	
Country	*Western Illinois*	*State of Illinois*	*Western Illinois*	*State of Illinois*
Netherland Antiles	1	22	11,813	18,664
Germany	3	9	737	3,161
Panama	–	6	–	2,031
Cayman Islands	4	5	1,538	1,926
Luxembourg	1	3	620	869
Netherlands	1	4	10	779
Liechtenstein	–	3	–	624
Uruguay	–	1	–	581
United Kingdom	–	3	–	542
Switzerland	1	3	260	452
Canada	–	2	–	306
Virgin Islands	–	1	–	303
France	1	2	94	108
Iran	–	1	–	20
Not Reported	–	1	–	237
Totals	12	66	15,072	30,602

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural Foreign Investment Disclosure Act Report, ASCS-153* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office). Unpublished Data.

Illinois Department of Agriculture, *Foreign Ownership of Illinois Agricultural Land* (Springfield: State of Illinois, 1981).

TABLE 5

AGRICULTURAL LANDHOLDINGS OF CORPORATIONS, TRUSTS, AND PARTNERSHIPS, BY COUNTRY OF FOREIGN OWNER: U.S. INTEREST. DATA THROUGH DECEMBER 1980

	Number of Reports		*Acres*	
Country	*Western Illinois*	*State of Illinois*	*Western Illinois*	*State of Illinois*
U.S./England	10	33	30,791	67,443
U.S./Germany	1	5	97	4,141
U.S./Liechtenstein	–	1	–	3,825
U.S./Netherland Antilles	3	9	433	2,031
U.S./Switzerland/ Luxembourg	–	2	–	1,882
U.S./Netherlands	–	18	–	1,327
U.S./Switzerland	–	3	–	936
U.S./Luxembourg	–	2	–	824
U.S./France	–	2	–	601
U.S./Australia	–	1	–	115
U.S./Australia/ S. Africa	–	1	–	113
U.S./Cayman Islands	–	1	–	71
Totals	14	78	31,321	83,309

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural Foreign Investment Disclosure Act Report, ASCS-153* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office). Unpublished Data.

Illinois Department of Agriculture, *Foreign Ownership of Illinois Agricultural Land* (Springfield: State of Illinois, 1981).

TABLE 6
AGRICULTURAL FOREIGN OWNERSHIP REPORTS BY YEAR OF PURCHASE. DATA THROUGH DECEMBER 1980

	Number of Reports		*Acres*	
Year	*Western Illinois*	*State of Illinois*	*Western Illinois*	*State of Illinois*
1979-80				
1979-80	7	80	1,372	17,824
1975-78	13	46	15,006	33,103
1970-74	1	18	363	2,738
Prior to 1970	3	20	229	3,451
Not Reported/ Over a Period of Years	6	13	30,247	64,888
Totals	30	177	47,317	122,004

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural Foreign Investment Disclosure Act Report, ASCS-153* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office). Unpublished Data.

Illinois Department of Agriculture, *Foreign Ownership of Illinois Agricultural Land* (Springfield: State of Illinois, 1981).

NOTES

[1]Franklin J. Reiss, *Farm Economics; Fact and Opinion* (Urbana, Illinois; Cooperative Extension Service, April 1980), p. 2.

[2]U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1980,* 101st edition (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1980), p. 487.

[3]Ibid., p. 546.

[4]Cleona Lewis, *America's Stake in International Investments* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1938), p. 85. The estimate of 30-35 million acres owned by foreigners was based upon an article titled "Uncle Sam's Land Owned by Aliens" published in the December 6, 1909 edition of the *Philadelphia Bulletin.* The inaccuracy of this overestimate can be gauged by the claim that William Scully owned 2,000,000 acres when in actuality he owned 224,000 acres.

[5]U.S. Senate, Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, *Foreign Investment in United States Agricultural Land* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1979), pp. 4-6.

[6]Ibid., pp. 14-15.

[7]Ibid., p. 15.

[8]Ibid., p. 16.

[9]Ibid., pp. 78-81.

[10]Eugene Patterson, ed., "Foreign Land Ownership," *Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1978* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1979), pp. 459-60.

[11]Ibid., p. 459.

[12]Louise S. Greenfield, "Buying America: Illinois Farmland On the World Market Raises Basic Ideological Questions," *Illinois Issue,* 5 (March 1979), 8.

[13]Ibid., p. 9.

[14]State of Illinois, General Assembly, House of Representatives, *An Act Relating to Nonresident Alien Ownership of Real Property Used for Farming* (Springfield, Illinois: Allied Printing, 1981), pp. 1-3.

[15]U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Foreign Ownership of U.S. Agricultural Land, February 1, 1979 Through December 31, 1980* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1981), p. vii.

[16]Ibid., p. vii.

[17]Ibid., p. vii.

[18]Ibid., p. viii.

[19]Illinois Department of Agriculture, *Foreign Ownership of Illinois Agricultural Land* (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois Department of Agriculture, 1981), p. 1.

[20]Richard B. Miller, "The Caymans—Offshore Banking Paradise," *The Bankers Magazine,* 164 (January-February, 1981), 39-42.

[21]"British Petroleum to Sell 6.8% Stock to Avoid FTC Antitrust Charges," *Wall Street Journal,* 3 June 1981, p. 33, col. 1-2.

[22]U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Foreign Ownership of U.S. Agricultural Land,* p. 53.

[23]U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Farm Real Estate Market Developments* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, March, 1981), p. 3.

[24]U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Farm Real Estate Market Developments* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, July, 1978), p. 33-34.

[25]U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1978 Census of Agriculture, Vol. 1, State and County Data; Part 13, Illinois* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1980), p. 1.

[26]U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Foreign Ownership of U.S. Agricultural Land*, p. 53.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Historical Publications: Bibliographies of Mercer and Henderson Counties

The following bibliographies continue the series started in the Spring of 1981 with Fulton County. They contain separately published monographs as well as items which were duplicated in limited issues for private distribution. The bibliographies do not include periodical or newspaper articles, scrapbooks, manuscripts, photographic collections, or genealogical studies on individual families. In order to find materials of this nature, several locations can be recommended. Both Henderson and Mercer counties have active historical societies which maintain museums, in Raritan and Aledo respectively. These museums, especially the Mercer County Museum, contain extensive collections of materials suitable for historical and genealogical research. Other major collections on the two counties are housed in the Illinois Historical Survey at the University of Illinois, the Illinois State Historical Library in Springfield, and in the Special Collections unit of Western Illinois University Libraries in Macomb. Of particular help to researchers are indexes to articles which have appeared in the *Journal* and the *Transactions* of the Illinois Historical Society, as well as in numerous books. These are maintained by the Illinois Historical Survey and the State Historical Library. Western Illinois University Library has a large collection of photographs on both counties, especially Henderson. The library also maintains a vertical file on the counties and has a number of manuscripts and government records.

Because so much of the local historical materials are held in private hands and have over the years received only perfunctory bibliographic coverage, any attempt to list these materials must of necessity rely on local history enthusiasts for information and referral. Two individuals have been particularly helpful in the compilation of the forthcoming bibliographies, although they are in no way responsible for mistakes or omissions. John Allaman, a resident

of Raritan and a graduate student in history at Western Illinois University, was most helpful in locating items on Henderson County. Mrs. Ruth Giffin, the chief curator of the Mercer County Museum, donated time and gave valuable information toward the compilation of the Mercer County bibliography. Special thanks are due to both for their help.

The present bibliographies incorporate a feature which was missing in the Fulton County bibliography. Whenever possible the locations of items are indicated in parenthesis. These locations are not inclusive. Commonly found items generally do not have locations listed, nor do items held in private hands. The following abreviations for locations were used: Illinois Historical Survey (IHS); Illinois State Historical Library (ISHL); *National Union Catalog* listing (LC); Mercer County Museum (MCM); University of Illinois (UI); Western Illinois University (WIU).

All additions and corrections to the bibliographic listings will be welcome and should be addressed to: Gordana Rezab, *Western Illinois Regional Studies,* Western Illinois University, Macomb, IL 61455.

MERCER COUNTY

General County Histories

Bassett, Isaac Newton. *Past and Present of Mercer County, Illinois.* Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing, 1914. 2 vols. (MCM)

Drury John. *This is Mercer County, Illinois: An Up-to-date Historical Narrative with County and Township Maps And Many Unique Aerial Photographs of Cities, Towns, Villages, and Farmsteads.* Chicago: Loree Company, 1955. 426 p. (MCM)

Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois, ed. by Newton Bateman, Paul Selby, and *History of Mercer County,* ed. by William A. Lorimer. Chicago: Munsell, 1903. p. 620-798.

History of Mercer and Henderson Counties. Chicago: H. H. Hill, 1882. 1414 p.

History of Mercer County, Together With Biographical Matter, Statistics, etc. . . . Containing Also a Short History of Henderson County. Chicago: H. H. Hill, 1882. 912 p.
(Note: the Mercer County history in the two above publications is identical. It is also available in a 1976 reprint edition.)

Index: 1882 History of Mercer County, Illinois, prepared by Katharine R. Greeley and Jean Lauke, revised by Carol Spence and Eulalia H. Garrett, n.p., 1976? 89 p.

Johnson, Daniel T. *History of Mercer County, Illinois, 1882-1976.* n.p.: Mercer County Bicentennial Commission, 1977. 820 p.

Special Aspects of the County History

Catalogue: First Public Sale of Short-Horns by the Mercer County Breeders' Association. Keithsburg, Ill.: Times Steam Print, 1885. 50 p. (MCM)

Directory of Mercer County. Monmouth, Ill.: Consolidated Directory and Advertising Co., 1940. 191 p. (MCM, WIU)

Honor Roll: Mercer County, State of Illinois, compiled by Illinois Veterans Commission, Springfield, Ill.: n.p., 1956. 28 p. (MCM)

Inventory of Historic Landmarks in Mercer County: Interim Report, prepared by the Illinois Historic Landmarks survey, n.p., 1974. 10 p. (WIU)

Inventory of Historic Structures in Mercer County: Interim Report, prepared by the Illinois Historic Landmarks Survey, n.p., 1972. 6 p. (WIU)

Mercer County Crop Improvement Association. *By-Laws.* Aledo, Ill.: n.p., 1915. (UI)

Mercer County Farmers' Rural Route and Telephone Directory, Also Including Woodhull and Alpha, of Henry County. n.p.: R. S. Hook, 1915. 32 p.

Mercer County Sunday School Association Manual. n.p., 1911. 83 p. (MCM)

Prairie Farmer's Directory of Mercer and Rock Island Counties, Illinois. Chicago: Prairie Farmer's Publishing Co., 1918. 324 p. (MCM)

Smith, Raymond S. et al. *Mercer County Soils.* Urbana: n.p., 1925. 64 p. (WIU, UI)

Thomas, C. H. *Mercer County School Directory, 1978-1979.* n.p.: Office of Superintendent Educational Service Region, n.d. 25 p. (MCM)

Thomas, Clarence C. *Official Directory of Mercer County, Illinois, 1935.* Aledo, Ill.: Times Record Co., 1935. 356 p. (MCM, ISHL)

County Atlases, Maps and Platbooks
(listed in order of publication)

Illustrated Atlas Map of Mercer County, Illinois. Edwardsville, Ill.: W. R. Brink and Co., 1875. 106 p. (ISHL, MCM, UI) Also available in a 1976 reprint edition.

Plat Book of Mercer County, Illinois. Chicago: Alden, Ogle & Co., 1892. 85 p. (UI, MCM)

Plat Book of Mercer County, Illinois. Aledo, Ill.: Hendrickson and Waespe, 1904. 73 p. (LC)

Atlas and Farm Directory of Mercer and Henderson Counties. Chicago: Standard Map Co., 1914. 61 p. (UI, MCM, WIU)

Farm Ownership Map and Plat Book Guide of Mercer County, Illinois. Peoria, Ill.: W. A. Howat and Son, 192—. 36 p. (MCM, ISHL)

Plat Book of Mercer County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: W. W. Hixson, 1931. 18 p. (IHS, ISHL)

Township Plat Book of Mercer County, Illinois: Supplement of the *Official Directory of Mercer County.* Aledo, Ill.: Clarence C. Thomas, 1935. 31 p. (MCM)

Stacy's Farm Plat Book of Mercer County, Ill. Rockford, Ill.: Stacy Map Publishers, 194—. (UI)

Mercer County, Illinois, TAM Service. Harlan, Iowa: R. C. Booth Enterprises, n.d. (LC 55-869)

Farm Plat Book, Mercer County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: Rockford Map Publishers, 1953. (MCM)

Farm Plat Book With Index to Owners, Mercer County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: Rockford Map Publishers, 1958. (MCM)

Triannial Atlas and Platbook, Mercer County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: Rockford Map Publishers, 1966, (LC), 1969. (UI, WIU, MCM), 1972. (U. of I., WIU). Titles change slightly.

Ownership Atlas, Mercer County, Illinois. Quincy, Ill.: Artcraft Co., 1975. (WIU)

Land Atlas and Plat Book, Mercer County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: Rockford Map Publishers, 1979. (WIU)

Censuses and General Genealogical Information

Arvedson, Evelyn Houghton. *Alphabetical Index of Mercer County, Illinois, 1850 Census.* n.p., 1975. 48 p. (IHS, WIU)

Mercer County Cemetery Records, copied by members of William Dennison Chapter NSDAR. n.p., 1961. 8 vols., typescript. (MCM, ISHL)

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(listed alphabetically by town name)

Aledo

Aledo Board of Education. *Manual.* n.p., annual. 1892-1895 (IHS); 1897 (LC).

Aledo City Directory, 1939-1940, compiled by James Carey. n.p.: Kisor Directory Service, n.d. 22 p. (MCM)

Aledo's Religious Awakening: A Souvenir of Newlin Evangelistic Campaign, Oct., Nov. 1969. Aledo, Ill.: n.p., n.d. 32 p. (MCM)

College Avenue Presbyterian 125 Years of Service in Christ. n.p., 1981 19 p. (MCM)

Fiftieth Anniversary of the Swedish Lutheran Church, Aledo, Illinois, 1873-1923. Aledo, Ill.: Swedish Lutheran Church, 1923. 70 p. (ISHL, WIU, MCM)

First Baptist Church, Aledo, Ill., 1867-1967. Rockford, Ill.: Mid-West Pictorial Directories, n.d. 32 p. (MCM)

A History of the First 100 Years of the First Presbyterian Church of Aledo, Illinois (1856-1956). Aledo, Ill.: Times Record Co., 1956. 44 p. (MCM)

History of the United Presbyterian Church, Aledo, Illinois. n.p., n.d. (1916?) 14 p. (MCM)

Our Centennial Year: Messiah Lutheran, 1973-1973, Aledo, Illinois. n.p., n.d. 42 p. (ISHL)

Picturesque Souvenir of Aledo, Mercer County, Illinois: Containing illustrations of Views in and Around Aledo, compiled by C. G. Turner. Aledo, Ill.: Times Record Pub., 1896. 114 p. (MCM, ISHL)

Alexis

Centennial Alexis, 1870-1970: The American Home of the Clydesdale, author and editor Hope Holloway McKelvey. n.p., n.d. (Alexis, Ill.: McKelvey Printing) 108 p. (MCM, WIU)

Burgess

Anniversary Edition of the First Presbyterian Church, Burgess, Illinois: In Memory of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary, Oct. 24, 1937, n.p., n.d. 16 p. (MCM)

Fiftieth Anniversary of the Burgess United Presbyterian Church, Burgess, Illinois. n.p., n.d. (1962?) 12 p. (MCM)

Keithsburg

Fitzhenry, Charles. *Our 75-90 Anniversary (Souvenir Booklet): Methodist Episcopal Church, Keithsburg, Illinois August 19-26, 1982.* n.p., 1928. 47 p.

Keithsburg's 125th Anniversary Celebration, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, July 13, 14, 15, 1962. n.p., n.d. 75 p. (WIU)

New Boston

Griffin, J. E. *The City Charter With the Amendment Thereto and the Revised Ordinances of the City of New Boston, Illinois.* New Boston, Ill.: n.d. (1871?) 128 p. (MCM)

History of New Boston: Souvenir by the Class of 1906 New Boston High School. New Boston, Ill.: n.p., n.d. 24 p. (MCM)

United States Post Office, New Boston, Ill.: Dedication Ceremony, May 7, 1961. n.p., 1961 10 p. (MCM)

New Windsor

Constitution and By-Laws of the Rivoli Grain Company. New Windsor, Ill.: n.p., 1912. 8 p. (MCM)

First Presbyterian Church, New Windsor, Illinois, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary. n.p., 1944 28 p. (MCM)

A History of New Windsor, Illinois, compiled by Grace W. Peterson and W. B. Monson. n.p., n.d. (1957?) 50 p. (WIU, MCM)

Jubelalbum Till Minne Af Svenska Ev. Luth. Församlingens i New Windsor, Ill. Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Book Concerns Tryckeri, 1919. 58 p. (WIU)

New Windsor, Illinois, Calvary Evangelical Lutheran Church. *Anniversary Album of the New Windsor, Illinois, Calvary Evangelical Lutheran Church: in Memory of the 60th Anniversary.* n.p., 1929. 48 p. (MCM)

In Commemoration of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, May 24 to 28, 1944. New Windsor: Calvary Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1944. 45 p. (MCM)

100th Anniversary, 1869-1969, Calvary Lutheran Church, New Windsor, Illinois. n.p., 1969. 62 p. (MCM)

Ordinance Book for the Vilage of Windsor, Mercer County, Illinois. n.p., 1915. 31 p. (MCM)

United Presbyterian Church, New Windsor, Illinois, Fifty Years. n.p., 1969. 33 p. (MCM)

North Henderson

History of the North Henderson Methodist Church, 1840-1968. (typescript), n.c. 25 p. (MCM)

Perryton

History of Perryton School Community, compiled by Ruth Cooke Burrows and Florence Doak McHard. n.p., 1953. 12 p. (MCM)

Perryton Presbyterian Church, Mercer County, Illinois. *Souvenir, 50th Anniversary, 1872-1922.* n.p., n.d. 8 p. (MCM)

Souvenir: Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, Perryton Presbyterian Church, 1872-1947. n.p., n.d. 10 p. (MCM)

Perryton United Presbyterian Church. *90th Anniversary, 1872-1962.* n.p., n.d. 12 p. (MCM)

Seaton

Centennial Anniversary of Center Presbyterian Church, Seaton, Illinois. n.p., 1969, 8 p. (MCM)

HENDERSON COUNTY

General County Histories

Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois, ed. by Newton Bateman, Paul Selby, and *History of Henderson County,* ed. by James W. Gordon. Chicago: Munsell, 1911. p. 617-905 (IHS, WIU, ISHL)

History of Mercer County, Together With Biographical Matter, Statistics, etc . . . Containing Also a Short History of Henderson County. Chicago: H. H. Hill, 1882. p. 863-912. (WIU, ISH, ISHL)

History of Mercer and Henderson Counties. Chicago: H. H. Hill, 1882. 1414 p. The Henderson County part of this history was reprinted under the title: *History of Henderson County.* Aledo, Ill.: The Times Record Co., 1981. 550 p.

Portrait and Biographical Record of Hancock, McDonough, and Henderson Counties. Chicago: Lake City Pub. Corp., 1894. 598 p. (IHS, ISHL, WIU)

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Belmont Methodist Church. Marceline, Mo.: Walsworth, 1951. 90 p.

History of Belmont Methodist Church. n.p., 1960. 33 p.

A Comprehensive Long-Range Development Plan. St. Louis, Mo.: General Planning and Resource Consultants, 1970. (WIU)

Consolidated Directory Company, Monmouth. *1940 Directory of Henderson County, Ill.* Oquawka, Ill.: Henderson County Journal, 1940. 100 p.

David Rankin, Farmer. Tarkio. Mo.: n.p., 1909. 64 p. (WIU)

Henderson County Public School Directory 1920-1921, compiled by A. L. Beale. n.p.: Printed by Edward O. Barnes, n.d. 56 p. (WIU)

Inventory of Historic Landmarks in Henderson County: Preliminary Report, prepared by the Illinois Historic Landmarks Survey. n.p., 1974. 5 p. (WIU)

Inventory of Historic Structures in Henderson County: Preliminary Report, prepared by the Illinois Historic Landmarks Survey. n.p., 1972. 2 p. (WIU)

Jamison, Matthew H. *Recollections of Pioneer and Army Life.* Kansas City: Hudson Press, 1911. 363 p.

125th Anniversary, 1850-1975, Old Bedford Christian Church, Blandinsville, Illinois. n.p., n.d. 23 p.

Our Honor Roll, Henderson County, Illinois: Honor Roll Celebration, Aug. 28, 1919, Wier's Fruit Farm. Burlington, Iowa: Conrad Lutz and Sons, n.d. 10 p. (WIU)

Prairie Farmer's Directory of Warren, Henderson Counties, Illinois. Chicago: Prairie Farmer Publishing, 1918. 327 p.

Veale, P. T. and H. L. Wascher. *Henderson County Soils.* Urbana, Ill.: n.p., 1956. 64 p. (WIU)

County Atlases, Maps and Platbooks
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Map of Henderson County, Illinois. Philadelphia: Thomas Doran, 1868. 40" x 51" (ISHL)

Standard Atlas of Henderson County, Illinois. Chicago: G. A. Ogle, 1900. 68 p.

Atlas and Farm Directory of Mercer & Henderson Counties, Illinois. Chicago: Standard Map Company, 1914. The 1900 and 1914 atlases are reprinted under title: *1900 and 1914 Plats of Henderson County, Illinois and Historical Maps of the State.* Owensboro, Ky.: McDowell Publications, 1981. 72 p.

Plat Book of Henderson County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: W. W. Hixson and Co. 1930 (IHS), 1939 (WIU)

Farm Plat Book and Business Guide, Henderson County, Illinois. Rockford, Ill.: Rockford Map Publishers, 1950 (WIU), 1958, 1962 (UI)

Henderson County, Illinois, TAM Service. Harlan, Iowa: R. C. Booth Enterprises, n.d. (LC M55-797)

Tri-Annual Atlas and Plat Book. Rockford, Ill.: Rockford Map Publishers, 1966 (UI), 1970 (WIU), 1973, 1976. Titles change slightly.

Henderson County Directory. Algona, Iowa: Directory Service, 1974. 28 p.

Censuses and General Genealogical Information

1850 Federal Census of Henderson County, Illinois, copied and indexed by Bernice C. Richards. Mt. Prospect, Ill.: Frank Rademacher, 1977. 110 p. (WIU)

Ross, Virginia and Jane Evans. *Henderson County, Illinois, Cemeteries.* Owensboro, Ky.: McDowell Pub., 1981. 2 vols. (WIU)

Publications on Towns and Townships

Listed alphabetically by town name)

Biggsville

Biggsville, 1854-1979. Monmouth, Ill.: Kellogg Printing, n.d. 63 p. (WIU)

Noble, Charles L. and Alumni Association. *Biggsville High School 1895-1961 Alumni Directory.* n.p., n.d. 29 p. (WIU)

The United Methodist Church, Biggsville, Illinois, 1868-1968. n.p., n.d. 11 p.

United Presbyterian Church, Biggsville, Illinois, 1866-1966. n.p., n.d. 11 p.

Gladstone

Gladstone Methodist Church, 1867-1967. n.p. 12 p. (WIU)

Gladstone, Illinois, Centennial, 1881-1981. n.p.: Gladstone Centennial Committee, n.d. 56 p. (WIU)

Olena

Olena Community 100th Anniversary, 1835-1935. Stronghurst, Ill.: Stronghurst Graphic, n.d. 8 p. (WIU)

Oquawka

Wagner, Carl Anton. *Oquawka, a typical Upper Mississippi River Port, 1883-1980.* Diss. University of Illinois, 1942. 43 p. (IHS, WIU)

Raritan

Allaman, John Lee. *Edward O. Barnes and the Raritan (Illinois) Reporter, 1884-1934.* M. T. Western Illinois University, 1982. 165 p.

Centennial Anniversary of the Raritan Baptist Church, Raritan, Illinois, 1858-1958. n.p., n.d. 30 p. (WIU)

Hagaman, Andrew. *Historical Address Delivered at the Celebration* n.p.: Raritan Bulletin Print, 1881. 8 p. (ISHL)

History of Raritan, Illinois, and Community: Honoring the 125th Anniversary of Raritan, 1856-1981. Aledo, Ill.: Times Record, 1981. 103 p. (WIU)

125th Anniversary of the Reformed Church, Raritan, Illinois, 1855-1980. n.p., 1980. 56 p. (WIU)

Salem Baptist Association. *Minutes of the Thirty-Sixth Anniversary of the Salem Baptist Association, Held With Baptist Church at Raritan, Henderson County, Illinois, Aug. 11th and 12th A.D. 1869.* Monmouth, Ill.: Atlas Steam Printing, 1869. 16 p. (WIU)

South Henderson

South Henderson 100th Anniversary, 1835-1935. Stronghurst, Ill.: Stronghurst Graphics, n.d.

The Story of South Henderson, published by the South Henderson Cemetery Association. Galesburg, Ill.: Landon/Galesburg, 1950. 116 p. (WIU)

Stronghurst

Fiftieth Anniversary, 1890-1940. Stronghurst, Ill.: Evangelical Lutheran Church, n.d. 23 p. (WIU)

Methodists Join in the Worship of God. Rockford, Ill.: Mid West Studios, Church Pictorial Directories, n.d. (about Stronghurst Methodist Church) 14 p. (WIU)

Stronghurst High School Alumni Directory. Stronghurst, Ill.: Charles G. Bell, 1979? 40 p. (WIU)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

HIS OWN COUNSEL: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF LYMAN TRUMBULL. By Ralph J. Roske. Reno, Nev.: University of Nevada Press, 1979. Pp. 232. $7.50.

Among Illinois political figures in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, few are as important or complex as Lyman Trumbull, who was variously labelled by his detractors as radical, conservative, liberal, etc. He was a man who moved from the Democratic Party to the Republican, the Liberal Republican, Democratic, and finally Populist parties. Despite his changing political affiliations, Professor Ralph J. Roske maintains that Trumbull remained true to his principles of equality of opportunity, individual liberty, fiscal conservatism, and state rights. But his parties changed, causing Trumbull to desert them in order to remain true to his principles.

Although the book is accurate and highly readable, it adds little to what we already know of Trumbull and his motivations. Because the author was forced by the exigencies of printing to greatly truncate his original manuscript, we have been deprived of the benefits of the in-depth study Roske envisioned of Trumbull as well as the complex personal and political milieu in which he acted. As example, the complex reasons for the Illinois Republican's rejection of Douglas' overtures, supported by Horace Greeley, in 1858 are only hinted at. Similarly, Roske is able to provide only a cursory look at the reasons Illinois elected a Democratic legislature in the midst of the Civil War, and the relationship of that to Trumbull's course in the Senate. The now familiar story of Trumbull's break with Andrew Johnson and Trumbull's role in the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment deserves fuller treatment.

In sum, Roske's *His Own Counsel* is too brief. Because the outlines of Trumbull's career are already well-known, what was needed, and is still, is a big biography that will enable a reader to understand all the complexities of state, national, and personal issues that shaped and explained Trumbull's career instead of the hints so suggestively

dangled by Roske. I suspect the fault lies with the press, rather than the author. Nevertheless, the work belongs on the shelf of anyone interested in Trumbull, Illinois, or the Civil War and Reconstruction.

Roger D. Bridges
Illinois State Historical Library

BEYOND SPOON RIVER: THE LEGACY OF EDGAR LEE MASTERS. By Ronald Primeau. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981. Pp. xiii, 217. $22.50

There must be something about Edgar Lee Masters that repels critics. In an age when the icy winds of criticism (sweeping off the arctic wastes of tenure decisions, no doubt) seem to seek out everyone who ever courted the muse, no matter how feebly, they have blown but fitfully upon the bard of Petersburg. Ronald Primeau's new book, *Beyond Spoon River,* is, surprisingly, the first book length critical study of Masters (thus giving the damning description, "one-book poet," so often applied to Masters, an unexpected new meaning).

This critical neglect is an implicit subject of Primeau's book; it would have been a better, more useful book if it had been a more explicit one. Primeau is a man with a cause. In a brief section in his chapter on Masters and Whitman (pp. 94-97), he summarizes the conventional view of Masters that he is out to demolish. After the commercial and to some extent artistic success of *Spoon River Anthology* (Ezra Pound hailed the book with the words, "At last America has discovered a poet"), critics misunderstood Masters' voluminous later work and treated it unsympathetically and unfairly. The "sensationalistic innovations" of *Spoon River Anthology* led critics to look for those same qualities in the later work and to overlook the fundamental conservatism of Masters' work as a whole and its roots in poetic tradition. Masters was compared, unfavorably, to Eliot and Pound when he should have been measured against the Greeks, Goethe, and the great English and American Romantics. As a result, the later Masters has come to be regarded, in Primeau's words, as "a popularizer, a writer of polite verse, a dabbler in fiction, an amateur historian whose training in law spilled over into chronicles about the land of his origins." Now, Primeau says, "more enlightened approaches to midwestern literature" have set the stage for a reassessment of the post-*Spoon River* Masters. (Primeau is professor of English at Central Michigan University, editor of the *Great Lakes Review,* and a vigorous spokesman for "regional studies.")

Primeau sets out to provide this reassessment in a series of chapters devoted first to Masters' early reading and critical writing

and then to his literary debts to the Greeks, Goethe, Emerson, Whitman, Shelley, and Browning. He ends with an incisive and well written chapter on Masters' progressive celebration of the Illinois landscape and his gradual transformation of that landscape into an internalized, mystical, "invisible" one.

Primeau carries out his plan very well. His chapters on Masters' attitude toward influence, his literary tastes, and his literary theories are thorough, balanced, and persuasive. The five chapters on the influences of particular poets are equally illuminating. Primeau knows his way around in Masters' fifty or so books, he knows the writers who influenced Masters equally well, and he has a sensitive and sophisticated understanding of the dynamics of literary influence. (The shadow of Yale University stretches across this book; Primeau quotes Harold Bloom frequently and approvingly and draws pervasively on the notion of the "anxiety of influence.")

The reservations one may have about *Beyond Spoon River* are less with the execution of the project than with the conception of the project itself. Is the world ready for a detailed, Bloomian analysis of the literary influences upon the late Edgar Lee Masters? I must regretfully conclude that it is not. Standing between us and such an analysis is the standard evaluation of Masters' post-*Spoon River* work, expressed succinctly by Bernard Duffey: "With the exception of a few individual poems, perhaps a dozen in all, Masters' work was dull, tremendously garrulous, and wholly unenlightened by the imaginative and dramatic resilience which had marked *Spoon River,*" a judgment Primeau quotes and rejects, but does not refute.

To set up a reassessment of Masters as a study in influences is to make an end run around the basic issues. It is no defense of dull, garrulous, and unenlightened writing to show that it has been influenced by great writers. The real problem with Masters' work is not that it was not "modernist" or that it was judged by inappropriate standards but rather that most of it was just plain bad writing, flaccid, mechanical, and clumsy. When Primeau quotes parallel passages from Masters and one of his predecessors—Emerson or Whitman or Browning—the Masters version is almost invariably inferior and often embarrassingly so. But Primeau rarely observes this and never draws any conclusion from it. Everything is grist for the big Blooming mill, chaff as well as wheat.

There is a need for a reassessment of Masters. To dismiss all of Masters' work after 1916 as worthless is as dubious as to regard it all as worthy of close analysis. We need a sharp, critical overview of all the work which would trace Masters' major themes, assess his technique, and discriminate between the good and the bad in his work. I suspect that such a reassessment would confirm Duffey's

view that Masters' claim to our attention rests upon *Spoon River Anthology* and perhaps as few as a dozen later poems and would add to those central poetic works some prose pieces, notably his remarkable autobiography, *Across Spoon River,* and his charming last book, *The Sangamon.* Perhaps after this spade work has been done, we will be able to return to Primeau's book with more profit and see the workings of influence as culminating in fully achieved, satisfying works of art and not in tedious hack work.

James Hurt
University of Illinois

MOLINE: A PICTORIAL HISTORY. By Bess Pierce. Virginia Beach, Virginia: Donning Company 1981. pp. 200.

The Rock Island County Historical Society and the First National Bank of Moline have performed a valuable task in sponsoring this book in a limited edition of 2,500 copies. Outside of newspaper columns and institutional histories, Moline and the Quad-Cities area in general have been neglected by historians. Although not a truly narrative account, and strictly limited to the city of Moline, this book serves as a starting point for future interpretations.

Because of a photographic orientation, Bess Pierce's selection of material seems to have been unsystematic. The method of periodization is never explained. The reader is never quite sure of the reason for uban development: is Moline hampered or assisted by the other municipalities in the Quad-Cities? There is an assumption of this city's uniqueness, yet the periods of growth are arbitrarily presented in the four chapters as 1829-1854, 1855-1899, 1900-1939, and 1940-1980. Are these crucial breaks in the "modernization" of the urban area (to use Richard Jensen's theory of historical change in Illinois)? There is also a lack of internal relationship between topics. What are the inter-connections between the Wagner Opera House, ditching plows, and various churches? (pp. 52-53). Immediately following this, an eight-page sub-section on Moline, Kansas (pp. 54-61) appears without any explanation.

The book will be useful in recapturing the industrial basis of Moline's material culture. The photographs have been reproduced with clarity, and their size is sufficient for future analysis. Some brief treatments of specialized subjects are quite useful: there is a nicely developed photographic essay on airplanes (pp. 122-125) and an excellent photograph of the Rock Island Rapids before the construction of Lock and Dam No. 15 by the Corps of Engineers in 1934 (pp. 128-129). Furthermore, Pierce briefly refers to a hitherto unknown novel about Moline. Charles W. Davis wrote *The Nut and the Bolt* from the perspective of a black man growing

up in the city. Many readers would welcome a longer discussion than the two paragraphs in this book (p. 147).

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Scott Community College

MISSISSIPPIAN MORTUARY PRACTICES: A CASE STUDY OF TWO CEMETERIES IN THE LOWER ILLINOIS VALLEY. By Lynne Gail Goldstein, Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, Archaeological Program 1980, Pp. vii, 196.

Mississippian Mortuary Practices is a revised and updated version of Goldstein's innovative 1976 dissertation. It was an excellent piece of research in 1976 and has stood the test of time and the current explosion in archeological methods and theory better than many of its contemporary studies. It is a substantive and complex monograph for the serious student of Mississippian prehistory or archeological methodology.

Golstein begins with a clear and concise statement of her goals in the formal analysis of spatial patterning at the Moss and Schild prehistoric cemeteries in the Lower Illinois Valley. Her discussion of the particular analytical methods selected and the theoretical underpinning of her approach is quite convincing. It demonstrates an excellent appreciation of the appropriate literature. The basic premise of her work, that systemic or processual analysis of spatial patterning in mortuary sites can go a long way towards the explication of such intangibles as the specifics of prehistoric social organization, was controversial in 1976 and is only slightly less so today. Goldstein examines overall pattern and context rather than individual artifacts or grave goods. In effect it is a more productive way of looking at a class of sites that normative archeologists have potted about in for years.

Chapters two and three offer an excellent summary of Mississippian archeology throughout its rather considerable range and a succint description of the Moss and Schild cemeteries. Again Goldstin's command of the varied and extensive literature dealing with Mississippian phenomenea is impressive. Her general summary of Mississippian development should be recommended reading in introductory courses on Midwestern pre-history. A somewhat distracting aspect of this portion of the book is Goldstein's apparent penchant for awkward and sonorous scientific jargon. The use of such terms as "disposal area" for cemetery or "disposal types" for different sorts of burials in my opinion adds little to her argument. The statement on page eighteen that "The death of a particular individual apparently terminated a mortuary schedule" is a marvelous example of stating the obvious in a grandiose manner. To be fair to Goldstein,

this was a common occurrence in the earlier days of a militant and self-consciously "scientific" New Archeology. Goldstein's later work exhibits a refreshing clarity and economy of style.

A good statement of the four hypotheses Goldstein intended to evaluate appears in chapter four. They appear to be well considered and well stated. Her hypotheses are clearly defined and related to a specific theoretical approach. The applicability of the data from the Moss and Schild sites to an evaluation of the hypotheses is readily apparent. She discusses the relative merits of two rather disparate approaches to mortuary analysis employed by Saxe (1970), Peebles (1972), and Tainter (1975) and amply justifies her selection of a monothetic divisive cluster algorithm method. Perhaps the most important element in this section is the fact that Goldstein was able to successfully devise four testable hypotheses regarding broader issues of Mississippian social organization which could be adequately evaluated employing data from two isolated and somewhat peripheral Mississippian cemeteries.

In the same section Goldstein elects to address a later criticism of her original 1976 work by Nan Rothchild (1979:600). Based on an analysis of mortuary data from Indian Knoll and Dickson Mounts, Rothchild has seriously questioned the appropriateness of Goldstein's characterization of outlying Mississippian mortuary sites as generally egalitarian in social structure. Goldstein attempts to demonstrate that her use of egalitarian in hypothesis 1 refers primarily to material indicators of within-group variability rather than between-group social differences. Goldstein also cites Saxe's (1970: 75) hypothesis 5 as supporting her definition.

My criticism here relates primarily to what amounts to a distracting aside in a chapter purportedly directed towards a succinct description of Goldstein's hypotheses. Her reply to Rothchild would be more effective and appropriate in a concluding section after the evaluation of the major hypotheses. Secondly, Goldstein's presentation of Rothchild's critique is totally inadequate to allow the informed reader to fairly judge the relative merits of the argument. Finally, Goldstein's rebuttal strikes me as less than substantive, verbal sleight-of-hand. On the basis of clarity and semantic accuracy Goldstein could have saved considerable energy by describing rural Mississippian society as something other than egalitarian.

Sections six through nine consist of an in-depth evaluation of Goldstein's major hypotheses on Mississippian social organization. This is perhaps the strongest portion of the monograph and is characterized by economical narrative, excellent schematic drawings and concise tables and graphs. The cluster analysis employed is clearly described as are all key elements and attributes. Hypotheses 1 on the egalitarian aspect of rural Mississippian communities is con-

vincingly supported, as is Peebles' (1974) work at Moundville.

Goldstein clearly defines specific social statuses or groups in the Moss and Schild populations on a replicable quantitative basis. She then proceeds to an attempt at elucidating the meaning of the delineated groupings. Hypothesis 2 on the direct relation of spatial organization and resource allocating descent groups, hypothesis 3 on mortuary patterns and communality, and hypothesis 4 on the wider implications of Mississippian mortuary patterns are all confirmed by Goldstein's rigous evaluation. An additional bonus is Goldstein's refreshingly candid presentation of her thoughts on the use and abuse of sophisticated statistical analyses in archeology. As she points out, many archeologists have fallen into common traps in their eagerness to quantify archeological analysis. By leaving her analysis in its 1976 form and pointing out some of the pitfalls she encountered, Goldstein provides a considerable service for later students of mortuary analysis.

Mississippian Mortuary Practices is a well designed, well written monograph. It is of considerable value on a number of levels, including the rigorous evaluation of a specific methodological and analytical approach; the vindication of a particular theoretical stance; and the development of several broadly applicable ideas on Mississippian social organization. It should be of great use in graduate courses in Midwestern prehistory and is a major contribution to the field.

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